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Communique Released on RSD-10 Destruction Plans

LD2808114590 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] The Soviet Union will destroy all its RSD-10 [medium-range] missiles by the middle of next year. This has been disclosed in a communique by the center for monitoring the destruction of missiles. The center was set up in the Soviet Union in accordance with the Soviet-American treaty on eliminating this class of missiles. However, two missile launchers put out of action are to be transferred to museums in Moscow and Kiev, and one will be left at the destruction site in Kapustin Yar.

Inspections To Limit Nuclear Arms Proliferation

PM2908094190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Aug 90 First Edition p 5

[Report by TASS political observer Albert Balebanov: "An Act of Goodwill"]

[Text] The speech by V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, at the conference on examining the operation of the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons being held in Geneva proved to be one of the forum's main sensations. This was because of the statement that he made on behalf of the Soviet Union: "Moscow is unilaterally aiming at extending the list of Soviet nuclear installations that from now on will be subject to control by the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA]."

Let us recall that the basic sense of the agreement comes down to the following provisions: The nuclear powers must not transfer nuclear weapons or military equipment to, or promote the creation of nuclear weapons by countries that do not possess them; nonnuclear countries must not acquire or create nuclear weapons and must place all their nuclear activity under the control of the IAEA, so that it can be confirmed that the requirements of the agreement are being carried out.

Under the agreement, neither the USSR nor other nuclear powers are obliged to place their nuclear reactors under the IAEA's control. This has given certain nonnuclear countries grounds for stating that the agreement is unfair, and that IAEA monitoring of nonnuclear countries is an expensive burden for the nonnuclear countries that the nuclear powers have avoided. In order to refute these accusations, the nuclear countries have stated that they are prepared to place their peaceful nuclear activity under IAEA control. The USSR, the United States, Britain, and France held talks with the IAEA and concluded the appropriate agreements on guarantees. In 1985 our country signed such an agreement with this international organization, which gave it the right to monitor a number of Soviet peaceful nuclear installations.

Experience of IAEA monitoring activity both in nuclear and nonnuclear countries has demonstrated that such monitoring is not an obstacle to normal peaceful commercial activity in the sphere of nuclear power engineering; indeed the opposite is true—it serves as a measure to strengthen trust between countries. Furthermore, the nuclear powers' actions opened up possibilities for the IAEA to gain experience of monitoring installations that were new to it.

According to data from A.I. Kulichenkov, a senior official at the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Generation and the Nuclear Industry, in 1985 the USSR initially placed 31 installations under IAEA control—both power and research reactors. This included reactors that were then being built at Beloyarsk, Kursk, Kalinin, Smolensk, and the Novovoronezh AES [nuclear electric power stations]. In 1987 a new unit at the Beloyarsk AES—a fast-breeder reactor —and a storage pit for spent fuel at Novovoronezh AES were added to the list.

The USSR's new step in this sphere, which V.F. Petrovskiy announced recently in Geneva, will be put into practice in the form of an official USSR document which, it has been decided, will be handed to the IAEA leadership at the organization's general conference, scheduled for September.

The Soviet Union hopes that its new initiative, which is a display of goodwill, will be taken on its merits as the manifestation of a desire to promote the strengthening of trust between the nuclear and nonnuclear states and in the long run the stabilization of the system of nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.

Shevardnadze To Visit PRC, DPRK, Japan

LD2808124390 Moscow TASS in English 1230 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will pay working visits to China on September 1 and North Korea between September 2-3 and an official visit to Japan from September 5-7, according to previously reached understandings, it was officially announced here.

In addition, he will attend an international conference on "The Asian-Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace, Cooperation", which will take place in Vladivostok, the Soviet Far East, between September 4-7.

Gerasimov Presents 28 Aug Briefing; TASS Reports

Outlines Shevardnadze's Asia Tour

LD2808135190 Moscow TASS in English 1328 GMT 28 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Igor Peskov]

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will begin his tour of the Asia-Pacific region with a working visit to China on September 1, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

The spokesman said that between September 2-3 Shevarndadze will visit North Korea, and between September 5-7 he is expected to make an official visit to Japan.

Within the framework of the tour, Shevardnadze is expected to visit Vladivostok to attend the international conference "The Asia-Pacific Region—Dialogue, Peace and Cooperation," scheduled for September 4-7, Gerasimov said.

Details Far East Conference

LD2808174390 Moscow TASS in English 1715 GMT 28 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Igor Peskov]

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—The Gulf crisis dominated the regular briefing at the Soviet Foreign Ministry Press Centre again today.

But a number of other important issues were also raised, including the forthcoming conference on the Asian Pacific region in Vladivostok, the results of Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Abd-al-Majid's visit to Moscow, and the appointment of NEW TIMES magazine editor-in-chief Vitaliy Ignatenko to be Mikhail Gorbachev's aide in charge of the presidential press service.

When asked about Arkadiy Maslennikov, who had previously acted as the presidential press secretary, Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said he believed that Maslennikov would perhaps be now responsible for work with the press at the Supreme Soviet.

Gerasimov described the results of 'Abd-al-Majid's visit as very "important from the standpoint of diplomatic efforts made by the Soviet Union in search of a political solution to the Gulf crisis."

Many questions concerned the Vladivostok conference, "the Asian Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace, Cooperation," slated for September 4-7.

The first such forum in the Far Eastern port took place two years ago, in the autumn of 1988. It was effectively the first major international meeting in Vladivostok, previously closed to foreigners, and riveted the close attention of political, public and business circles in Asia and the Pacific.

That conference discussed important regional issues and vividly demonstrated that the "eastern door to the Soviet Union," as Vladivostok is often called, was increasingly opening to the outside world.

Attendees, including eminent public figures, politicians, scholars and entrepreneurs from a number of countries, spoke out for such meetings to be held regularly in the future.

The organising committee for the second Vladivostok conference is led by Academician Viktor Ilichev, who will chair also the meeting itself.

Gerasimov said that Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who is leaving on visits to China, North Korea and Japan in early September, will attend as well. He is scheduled to address the conference on September 4 and expected to cover a number of conceptual and practical issues of Soviet policies in the Asian Pacific region.

The conference will hear reports by Leticia Shahani, chairwoman of the Philippine Senate Foreign Relations Committee, U.S. Professor Mr. Scalapino, a leading expert on Asian and Pacific affairs, and Mikhail Titarenko, director of the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Institute of the Far East.

More than 70 foreign representatives and journalists are expected to take part in the meeting's three workshops, which will deal with the military and political situation, trade and economic cooperation, and humanitarian and cultural cooperation in the region.

The conference is not expected to adopt any final document.

On Egyptian Minister's Visit

LD2808143390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1337 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 28 August (TASS)—TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Igor Peskov report from the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center:

Gennadiy Gerasimov, USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate chief, speaking today at a briefing, noted "a significant coincidence of views" of both sides on the issues discussed on Monday during the Moscow talks between the USSR and the Arab Republic of Egypt foreign ministers. He briefly summarized the visit, which finished today, by Ahmad Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid, the Arab Republic of Egypt deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs.

The Egyptian guest, who came to Moscow for consultations on issues linked to the development of the situation in the Persian Gulf region, was received by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev on 27 August, and held talks with Eduard Shevardnadze.

The two ministers expressed themselves in favor of an active search for political ways out of the crisis, particularly stressing the necessity of averting a further escalation of tension in the Gulf region, Gennadiy Gerasimov said. It was unanimously stressed that the crisis must be settled in strict compliance with UN Security Council resolutions.

The ministers expressed their support for Security Council Resolution 665 and for the active utilization of the UN mechanism, the Security Council, the Military Staff Committee, and their political and diplomatic functions, the Soviet diplomat said. The Foreign Ministry spokesman said that Eduard Shevardnadze noted that before approving Resolution 665, the Soviet leadership had used all the opportunities it had to convince Iraq of the necessity of doing the will of the world community, as expressed in earlier Security Council resolutions.

The Soviet side paid particular attention to the necessity of activating the Arab factor and the role of Arab countries which, Gennadiy Gerasimov said, we consider could make a constructive contribution to the actions of the international community directed at settling the situation in the Gulf by peaceful political means.

Views Diplomats' Return From Iraq

LD2808154290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1440 GMT 28 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Igor Peskov from the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Aug (TASS)—This morning, the first group of 240 family members of Soviet specialists working in Iraq, was brought to Moscow by an Aeroflot plane from Baghdad, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Department, announced at today's briefing. He noted that this plane's departure did not take place according to schedule owing to problems that arose with the sending of personal baggage. The Foreign Ministry spokesman explained that Iraq has strict rules on the export of virtually all goods from the country and all foreign citizens must comply with them. What is more, he noted, as a result of events the Iraqi customs services checks have been strengthened still further. Gennadiy Gerasimov added that the second group of Soviet citizens, numbering 220 people, should fly out of the Iraqi capital this evening. The Foreign Ministry spokesman again reiterated that only the family members of Soviet specialists are being evacuated from Iraq. As for the specialists themselves, he replied, many of them have contracts and they need to be "settled." "For this reason," the diplomat went on to say, "there is as yet no plan for their evacuation and we will see how events develop."

Speaking about the Soviet military specialists in Iraq, Gennadiy Gerasimov stated: "Many of their contracts are coming to an end, so one can surmise that they will leave, but as for the others, we will keep a watch on the situation's development." At the same time, the Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed the assumption that new contracts to send Soviet military specialists to Iraq "will not be concluded."

Replying to a question as to whether the Soviet Union intends to follow the example of the United States regarding the expulsion of Iraqi diplomats, Gennadiy Gerasimov said that "we plan no such actions and we do not intend to demand a reduction of the staff of the Iraqi Embassy in Moscow."

Replying to journalists who evaluated the continuing ties between the Soviet Union and Iraq as a violation of the UN Security Council Resolution 661, Gennadiy Gerasimov said that "the sanctions do not cover the sphere of political, diplomatic, and consular relations, air and road communications, the activity of specialists whose work is not connected with the productionm of goods for export, or ties in the area of culture, education, sport or information." "Juridically there are no violations here," he added, "but there is a moral problem, and we will try to resolve it."

Speaking about USSR contacts with official representatives of Iraq, Gennadiy Gerasimov noted that the Soviet Union occupies "a special position," since it is maintaining contacts on matters of the Persian Gulf situation with many countries, including with Iraq. "We are not taking on the function of a mediator in the conflict and we place our hopes on the role of the UN general secretary, the Arab countries, and the international community. But the fact that we are talking to everyone can help to find a way out of the present situation," the diplomat said.

Comments on El Salvador Talks

LD2808154790 Moscow TASS in English 1507 GMT 28 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Igor Peskov]

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—The Soviet Union greets "the agreement to continue the dialogue" between representatives of the Salvadoran Government and the leadership of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, although there still remain serious differences in the sides' approaches to important aspects of the settlement, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

Gerasimov was commenting on the results of the regular round of talks between representatives of the opposing Salvadoran sides, which was held in Costa Rica. He said one of the main differences was their attitude to armed forces' reorganisation, which should reduce their influence on the social and political life in the country.

Moscow believes that the only reasonable alternative to the long-drawn-out military confrontation in Salvador is a "political settlement and the elaboration of mutually acceptable agreements at the negotiating table," the Soviet spokesman said.

Gerasimov said he hoped that during negotiations, the Salvadoran Government and the Front will "demonstrate good will and sincere desire to search for decisions that would lead the country to a peaceful settlement."

On Inquiry of Swedish Envoy's Death

LD2808140790 Moscow TASS in English 1358 GMT 28 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Igor Peskov]

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—Experts from the Swedish state criminological technical laboratory have begun a formal examination of the official statement on the death of Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg in Moscow in 1947.

In accordance with an earlier arrangement, Swedish experts examined the report, signed by former chief of the Lubyanka prison sanitary service Smoltsov, at the USSR Justice Ministry's forensic Medicine Research Institute from August 22 to 25, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

"The results of their efforts will be made public after a time-consuming technical test is completed," Gerasimov added.

He said an international working group, arrived in the Soviet Union on August 28 to work in the Vladimir prison archives.

Deputy Minister Discusses Gulf, Oil Exports

LD2808141490 Moscow World Service in English 0710 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Excerpts] In several East European countries, press reports have been saying that local oil refineries cannot work at full capacity because of cuts in the deliveries of Soviet petroleum.

Our special correspondent, (Georgiy Yerednov), has interviewed Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Yevgeniy Osadchuk.

The first question he asked him was: What can you say about our business ties with the countries involved in the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance [Comecon] and Soviet oil supplies to these countries?

[Begin recording] [Osadchuk, in Russian fading to English translaion] Economic and trade ties with the Comecon members are of great importance for the Soviet economy. They play a significant role in the economy of other Comecon countries, too. [passage omitted]

Together with other Comecon members, the Soviet Union has been implementing a large-scale program designed to meet the oil requirements of all member states maximally. [passage omitted]

This year, for instance, Soviet oil deliveries make up some 85 million tons. This is a colossal quantity and a considerable part of all Soviet exports of crude.

[Yerednov] What was the reason for the cuts in oil deliveries mentioned by the press in some East European contries such as Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland?

[Osadchuk, in Russian fading to English translaion] [passage omitted] The difficulties began in July, when the Soviet Union came to face problems connected with meeting the oil and oil products requirements of domestic consumers. The government decided to reschedule its exports. At the moment, it is doing all it can to rectify the situaion.

Unfortunately, our difficulties have been aggravated by external factors. Everyone knows that in the current year the Soviet Union was to receive from Iraq 10.7 million tons of crude in payment for its earlier services rendered in the building of industrial facilities, including a large number of oil industry facilities. This substantial quantity was to be distributed among several East European countries since we had the right to re-export Iraqi oil, but the current crisis in the Persian Gulf has affected our interests and our trade relations with countries we were to deliver Iraqi oil to.

As we have already said, at the moment we are going to do our best to honor our commitments an deliver as much oil as we can to the countries expecting it. It is essential, of course, how the situation in the Persian Gulf area will develop since, as I've said, the delivery of more than 10 million tons of oil depends on it. [end recording]

Military Expert Interviewed on Naval Cooperation

PM2808143790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Aug 90 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Captain First Rank V. Serkov, "the Navy's main specialist on international law," by Captain Third Rank Yu. Gladkevich, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent; place and date not given: "The Future 'Laws of the Sea'"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Are the naval forces of the opposing blocs taking part in the process of detente that we are now witnessing? How is collaboration at sea manifesting itself? These are the questions with which Captain Third Rank Yu. Gladkevich, our own correspondent, began his interview with Captain First Rank V. Serkov, the Navy's main specialist on international law.

[Serkov] First of all I must say that the West is not very inclined to discuss the majority of our proposals concerning detente at sea and a reduction in the level of naval activity. Times are changing, however, and we are seriously hoping for a substantial reappraisal of values by both the military and the political leadership of the NATO countries.

These hopes are bolstered by existing accords between our countries. For example, there are intergovernmental agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States, Britain, the FRG, France, Italy, and the Netherlands on preventing incidents at sea outside territorial waters. Talks with other states are in progress. Draft agreements with Norway and Spain have been drawn up, in particular.

In practical terms, collaboration between our Navy and the navies of the aforementioned NATO bloc countries aims to ensure mutual safety at sea. Under these agreements, a hot line has been established between the main naval staffs and is maintained by the sides' naval and military attaches.

The agreements also provide for annual meetings between the sides' representatives to discuss their implementation and ways of ensuring greater safety at sea and in the air.

[Gladkevich] Valentin Alekseyevich, as is well known, pledges are made by governments but the mechanism for implementing agreements is developed by naval personnel in everyday practice. Which elements of this mechanism are being jointly developed by our Navy and the navies of the NATO bloc?

[Serkov] Under the agreements on preventing incidents at sea, we have drawn up a table of special signals that are used by the sides' naval commanders to indicate their actions and intentions. We carry out joint training exercises to make sure that ships can reliably use radio communications as well. We recently conducted such exercises in conjunction with Canadian naval ships, for example, as we have with the French and Italians in the past....

An agreement on preventing dangerous military activity was concluded between the Soviet Union and the United States in June last year. The most important aspects of this agreement are to prevent one side's armed forces personnel (or equipment) from entering the other side's state territory; the dangerous use of lasers; the hampering of operations by the other side's armed forces personnel (or equipment) in regions of special attention; and the creation of impediments to the other side's armed forces control systems. Under this agreement, we conduct joint training exercises to check the communication channels envisaged by the agreement: "air to air"; "air to ground"; "air to sea"; and "sea to air." This kind of exercise was held last year and we are preparing to conduct a similar one this year.

[Gladkevich] Some optimists—starry-eyed, in my view—are already beginning to say that the Warsaw Pact and NATO Armed Forces could possibly be integrated in the foreseeable future to form a unified, general system for safeguarding security on the continent.

[Serkov] Stating the issue in this way is perhaps a little premature at present. It is another matter that there is a real basis for greater openness and better coordination of activity by our states' navies and for a broad exchange of opinions on various situations in maritime theaters. Attempts of this kind have already been made. Remember Stockholm in 1975 and Helsinki in 1978. They saw the first and second international maritime symposiums involving naval representatives of 14 European states and also the United States and Canada. They discussed experience of navigation in icy conditions, naval personnel's participation in marine research, support for rescue operations, and the training of ships' personnel for service at sea.... I think we should revive these symposiums and make them traditional.

I would like to say this in conclusion. While keeping their distance, so to speak, our states' navies are nevertheless beginning to collaborate more closely, as a whole, to the benefit of security and stability in the world. The old concept of "gunboat diplomacy," which has negative connotations, is apparently taking on new meaning.

SPD's Vogel on German Unity, USSR Ties

PM2808124190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 90 Second Edition p 5

[Report incorporating interview in Bonn with H.-J. Vogel, leader of the SPD, by correspondent Ye. Grigoryev under the "Interview for PRAVDA" rubric; date not given: "The New Germany and the Social Democrats"]

[Text] Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the German Social Democratic Party [SPD], has two offices in Bonn. One is in the party administration in Ollenhauerstrasse. The other is in the Bundestag, since he is simultaneously chairman of his party's parliamentary group.

The SPD now has 926,000 members, the parliamentary group 168 deputies. And naturally, the double chairman is up to his ears in work in both places.

"The main advantage," Vogel says, making a joke of it, "is that the opinions of the chairman of the party and the chairman of the parliamentary group practically never differ. They can rely on one another. In other respects, we have to proceed on the basis that the party is responsible for the long term and for fundamental decisions, while the parliamentary group bears responsibility within this framework for daily parliamentary work."

We are talking in Ollenhauerstrasse, in the headquarters of the party administration. The chairman's office is hidden somewhere in the inner recesses of the building. It is small, and it is rather hot here in the summer. I immediately note something that I have heard about many times: The chief is meticulously organized and tidy. There is perfect order on the table. This is in many ways characteristic of H.-J. Vogel as a man and as a politician.

He has great experience behind him, both in life and in the political arena. He was born in Goettingen in 1926. In the last years of the war he suffered his share of soldiers' misfortunes. He then studied jurisprudence in Marburg. He is a lawyer by profession. He worked in various departments in the Bavarian state. He has been a member of the German SPD since 1950. He was the chief burgomaster of Munich for 12 years. In the seventies he was minister of urban construction, and then minister of justice in the Brandt and Schmidt governments. At the beginning of the eighties he was the governing mayor of West Berlin, and from 1983, once again in Bonn, he headed the SPD parliamentary group. He was elected to the post of party chairman in 1987.

He was again elected leader by the Berlin congress in December of last year. However, as is known, the process of German unification also involves the unification of the party. A joint congress of FRG and GDR Social Democrats takes place in late September. Initially an intraparty argument arose over the chairmanship. But it was not allowed to develop. H.-J. Vogel's candidacy was agreed.

[Grigoryev] You will probably be the first chairman of the united SPD.

"Yes," my interlocutor answered monosyllabically and, it seemed to me, not without inner satisfaction.

[Grigoryev] How should the unified Germany, in which the SPD will undoubtedly become a prominent political force, look?

[Vogel] We imagine that the united Germany, whose emergence can be expected now at the end of the year, will be fully incorporated into European structures, into the process of constructing and improving the common European home. This should be a Germany for which relations with the Soviet Union are especially important. And it will also have to devote even more attention to the solution of worldwide and pan-human problems.

[Grigoryev] Won't the formation of an all-German state be a simple extension of the FRG?

[Vogel] We do not view it that way. The FRG also cannot avoid changes to some degree. In the framework of the new state, the north and the northeast will acquire greater weight. The correlation in the population will change from a religious point of view. The protestant element will become prevalent. The experience of 16 million Germans who achieved a peaceful, democratic revolution for the first time in German history will be introduced into the country's life. However, there will be no cardinal changes in the way of life, I think. In any case, our neighbors should not fear that a united Germany will pretend to some new role in Europe. It will be a Germany open to cooperation.

[Grigoryev] Many Social Democrats, however, cautioned early this year against accelerated unification....

[Vogel] Indeed, we were supporters of a slower process. So as to have time for serious analysis of the problems involved and to work out the optimum decisions. We criticize Chancellor Kohl for the decision he took at the beginning of the year to give this movement an additional acceleration. However, we should not shut our eyes to the fact that, in the final analysis, the tempo of development was determined by the aspirations and ideas of people in the GDR itself. When the border was opened 9 November, they were stunned by the gap between the living standards and economic levels of the two German states. The desire to obtain as quickly as possible standards of living comparable with the FRG prevailed extremely powerfully in the GDR population. This was seen in the results of the 18 March GDR elections, and can be felt today too. Of course, such a turning point involves many burdens and difficulties. The mistaken decisions of Kohl, which we criticize, aggravate them. But, I repeat, when all is said and done, nothing adverse to the aspirations of its own citizens is happening in the GDR. And social democracy cannot oppose this. Otherwise it would enter into open contradiction with people's feelings.

[Grigoryev] And what can you say on the subject of financial and economic union between the FRG and the GDR?

[Vogel] We have been fighting above all to have social rights and protection written into this treaty. I believe that we and our sister party have been successful in this. Now the people there are beginning to realize how important rights to social protection are to them. We have been criticizing the government for the incompleteness of the transitional measures it has proposed, which create additional risk factors.

[Grigoryev] The process of German unification already has its own history. Didn't it happen that the SDP initially limped along behind events?

[Vogel] No, it wasn't like that. The government, in the person of Chancellor Kohl, and the Social Democrats in my person, almost simultaneously presented concepts, the main features of which were treaty-based fellowship and elements of confederation. That was in November of last year. But by January, these concepts had been rendered redundant by developments within the GDR.

[Grigoryev] Now that the concluding phase of the state unification of Germany is approaching, what are the main aims and tasks of the SDP in this stage?

[Vogel] The most important task is to bring the social and ecological aspects of unification to the forefront more strongly. In other words, things which directly affect people's lives. In addition, it is essential to get a kind of solution of the legal problems in the course of preparing the state unification treaty in which the rights and conditions which people in the GDR want to preserve are not thrown overboard. They are problems of ownership, women's rights, and much else. We must be the social conscience of unification....

[Grigoryev] I thought that you would talk about the elections.

[Vogel] Naturally I have not forgotten about that. We will enter the all-German elections as a single party. The campaign will be headed by chancellor candidate Oscar Lafontaine, and the main stress in it will be on social and ecological problems, disarmament, and the solution of global questions.

[Grigoryev] What can you say to the readers of PRAVDA about your party's chances?

[Vogel] They are very good. The SDP has won all the Land elections in the FRG since 1987, with one exception. Now we have an absolute majority in the Bundesrat. I think that in the all-German elections the voters will be guided not by transient emotions, but by their own real interests.

[Grigotyev] But won't it be the case that the voting motives of the voters in the FGR and the voters in the GDR will not coincide?

[Vogel] That was the case in the spring of this year. On the one hand the elections in three FRG Lands ended in SDP victory. On the other, there were the elections in the GDR. But there are signs that people in the GDR are becoming more restrained in their attitudes to promises and expectations. In the spring, the voting was influenced by immoderate hopes. Now hopes proceed from the real state of affairs.

[Grigoryev] Tell me, a year ago did you expect this historic turning point in German affairs?

"No, I did not expect this," the Social Democratic leader says with winning frankness.

[Vogel] No one presupposed this. Perhaps only Erhard Eplar had some presentiments. He said in his June speech last year that the GDR rulers were standing on a block of ice that was melting quicker than could be supposed. But I did not foresee this. I thought—at the end of the century.

But we still have not mentioned one important factor. I am speaking of Mikhail Gorbachev. All this became possible thanks to the policy of perestroyka and the rejection of the "Brezhnev Doctrine."

I am very pleased with the results achieved in Moscow and the Caucasus. We interpret these results as being logically connected with the German and common European policy carried out by the social-liberal coalition. This applies especially to the elements introduced by us into national and international debates. I have in mind arms reductions, the creation of common European institutions within the framework of the European system of security, the prevention of conflicts, and so forth. All this is positive. But here it must be confessed: We did not foresee that things would develop at such a pace.

[Grigoryev] It is well known that the SDP actively supports disarmament and puts forward its own ideas and proposals. How will the process of military detente develop in the future?

[Vogel] I suggest that in the process of German reunification we must especially show our commitment to this. The size of the united Germany's armed forces is to be 370,000 men, as was agreed in the Caucasus—this is actually an upper ceiling, and can be lower.

In our view, the existing alliances must in the future evolve into a European security structure. We take note of the fact that NATO is taking important steps in this direction, but it is essential that they be continued. The result of this development will be a system of security in which all the CSCE states participate.

[Grigoryev] On 12 August the Moscow Treaty was 20 years old. How do you assess its significance today?

[Vogel] The 1970 Moscow Treaty between the USSR and the FRG was of historic significance. Everything in which we rejoice nowadays in Europe in one degree or another has its sources in the new Ostpolitik and the Moscow Treaty. But the time demands new steps toward each other—we must conclude an all-embracing treaty with the USSR which will put the united Germany's relations with it on a still wider footing. We know that the Soviet Union is going through a very difficult phase of transformations, and we think it essential to offer it help within our possibilities. The Federal Chancellor has spoken about this. However, we should not be talking just about credits, but also about practical cooperation.

[Grigoryev] Seeing that we are talking about our country, what impression did the recent 28th CPSU Congress make on you? Are you familiar with the program statement "Toward a Humane, Democratic Socialism"?

[Vogel] We followed the work of the congress with great attention. The openness with which the different standpoints were expounded and discussed with great animation stick in the memory. This is undoubtedly a new event in the practice of your party forums. I read the relevant texts. Their broad direction can be welcomed. There are elements notable for their compromise character. Naturally, it is difficult for us to say how pluralism will develop in practice. All this requires interpretation. But our respect for President M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, is unchanged. He manages to prevail even in the most difficult of circumstances. Our position is to support contacts and dialogue with all Soviet organizations that want it. And as a united party we will continue contacts with the CPSU.

[Grigoryev] Nowadays the failure or bankruptcy of socialism is often written about and declared. Meanwhile, in the new SDP program, among the goals proclaimed are "democracy and socialism." What do you think about this?

[Vogel] The statement that social democracy has exhausted its social task, that the age of social democracy has come to an end and so forth, has followed us, strictly speaking, throughout our history. It is repeated by the Right at certain intervals. In the past, communist parties also pronounced the doom of social democracy. So there is nothing new in this. Reality has always refuted these claims. Nowadays the social democratic position is attracting increasing attention. For example, in East Europe, including the Soviet Union. Speaking of the achievements of our society, of which there is ample evidence, their origin lies precisely in the elements of social justice and social protection which were introduced by us, by Social Democrats, in the course of decades of struggle.

The difficulties are brought about by the circumstance that the notorious abuses have inflicted damage on the attractiveness of a number of ideas. But even in these circumstances we will firmly defend the social democratic positions and express the essence of social democracy as we understand it in our program of principles.

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze, White House Chief of Staff Meet

LD2808155990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1504 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 28 Aug (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR foreign affairs minister, today received John Sununu, White House chief of staff and prominent figure in the U.S. Republican Party. He is in the USSR at the Council of Ministers' invitation.

During the conversation both sides expressed their commitment to the further positive development of Soviet-U.S. interaction on the key problems of world politics.

Shevardnadze told the American guest about the course and basic directions of the perestroyka processes in the USSR.

Questions of exchanging experience in organizing the functioning of state bodies were also discussed. This is yet another striking confirmation of the growing trust between the two countries.

The conversation, which was attended by Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, was held in the constructive and friendly atmosphere characteristic of the current stage of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue.

U.S. Ambassador Visits With Top Officials

Sees Presidential Council Member

PM2708172690 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Conversations at USSR Foreign Ministry"]

[Text] V.I. Boldin, member of the Presidential Council and leader of the USSR president's apparatus, received J. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, at his request. There was an exchange of opinions on questions of Soviet-U.S. relations.

Meets With Foreign Minister

LD2708141690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1357 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 27 Aug (TASS)—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksey Obukhov today received Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request. They discussed certain questions concerning the preparation of the Soviet-U.S. talks to be held in Moscow in September.

China

More on Chinese MiG's Violation of Airspace

PM2808191190

[Editorial Report] Both Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and PRAVDA in Russian carry in their first editions for 29 August 1990 comments by military officials on the 25 August incident in which a PRC pilot "violated the USSR border" and eventually landed his MiG-19 at Kievichy airfield in Maritime Kray.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent S. Anisko writes in a 250-word front-page report headlined "The Intruder Was a Chinese Air Force Plane" that he telephoned Major General of Aviation V. Pankin, chief of the Main Staff and first deputy commander in chief of the Air Force, (the date of the conversation is not given) and was told: "We now have normalized relations with the PRC. In this instance, therefore, there are no grounds for talking about any kind of hostile act. Nevertheless the country's air space has been violated, and this fact will receive a most serious and detailed investigation." After repeating details of the time and place of the intrusion, Pankin concludes: "The personal identity of the pilot and the reason why he flew across are currently being clarified."

Colonel V. Arutyunov of the Pacific Border Guard District Troops Directorate gives the following answer to PRAVDA correspondent N. Bratchikov's question "What will happen to the pilot and the aircraft?" in a 300-word undated report from Vladivostok on page two under the headline "I Wanted To Get to America":

"This question is currently being decided at the USSR Foreign Ministry. My belief is that the pilot will be returned to his homeland. As for the equipment, after being examined by a special Chinese commission the fighter will be flown back to its base airfield by Chinese pilots."

Shevardnadze's Far East Tour To Advance Ties

OW2908043390 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Commentary by Nikolayev]

[Text] According to an announcement made in Moscow, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will visit the Far East this weekend. His itinerary includes Harbin, Vladivostok, and Tokyo. According to the Soviet Foreign Ministry, he will also visit Pyongyang if the Korean side consents to the visit. Station commentator Nikolayev comments:

Obviously, the Soviet foreign minister will have different missions at each stop during his Far East tour. However, I am sure his trip has a general objective, to promote peace and good-neighborly relations in the region. I believe there are now new circumstances in this regard.

It has been over a year since the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. Stability in the Far East and the entire Asia-Pacific region is decided to a great extent by the situation of Soviet-Chinese relations. Here, I would like to point out that the two sides will soon begin talks on reducing Armed Forces along the Soviet-Chinese border and on confidence-building measures in the military field on the basis of relevant agreements reached between the two governments.

In the talks in Harbin, the two sides will also concentrate on the Cambodian issue. This is an area where agreement has not yet been reached between the two countries. However, there is a gratifying point: With more meetings, the two sides have constantly increased common ground. A major common ground is that during their contacts with other countries concerned, both the Soviet Union and China have striven for a comprehensive and fair political settlement of the Cambodian issue.

We welcome active Japanese diplomatic efforts toward a political settlement of the Cambodian issue. Hun Sen and Sihanouk reached an agreement in Tokyo. Although its implementation has encountered great difficulty, the agreement has opened up certain prospects for ending the war in Cambodia.

Of course, Soviet-Japanese relations will be the main topic of discussion by the Soviet foreign minister in Tokyo. His visit to Japan will be a crucial part of the preparations for next spring's Soviet-Japanese summit. We are anxious to see whether the two sides will make progress on signing a peace treaty, or make no progress because of Japan's insistence on the so-called territorial issue, during the Soviet foreign minister's visit.

Many people today know that regional security and stability can be ensured only when all countries in the region, regardless of their size, make concerted efforts and take into account everyone's interests. So far, we have still not been able to establish an official international body to discuss urgent regional issues of the Asia-Pacific region. However, there is growing interest in forming such an international body. For instance, an international symposium to discuss peace and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region will be held in Vladivostok on 4 September. The first such symposium was successfully held in October 1988. I believe that the Soviet foreign minister's participation in the discussion will add some weight to this international symposium.

Northeast Asia

Yeltsin Views Japanese Ties, Territorial Issue

OW2808131390 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Text] According to the KYODO NEWS SERVICE, Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Republic's Supreme Soviet, touched on a series of issues concerning Soviet-Japanese relations in his reply to questions put by KYODO.

In particular, Chairman Yeltsin pointed out that, in his opinion, the possibility exists for Japan and the Russian Republic's Far East region to expand their trade and economic relations. Moreover, while expressing his interest in concluding the Russian Republic's own economic agreement with Japan, Chairman Yeltsin stated that the republic would be ready to grant a version of most-favored-nation status to Japanese firms upon the conclusion of the agreement.

Regarding Japan's call for the return of the northern territories, Chairman Yeltsin stressed that the issue should not be set as a condition for promoting economic cooperation between the Russian Republic and Japan. The chairman reiterated his previously announced idea that the so-called territorial dispute should be solved in five phases over a period of 15 to 20 years.

Japan To Cooperate in Nuclear Power Safety

LD2808201190 Moscow TASS in English 1945 GMT 28 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Vadim Yegorov]

[Text] Tokyo August 28 TASS—A Soviet-Japanese memorandum of intent to cooperate in the field of nuclear power safety was signed today between the Japanese nuclear industrial forum and the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

For the first time ever, a delegation of the Soviet Academy of Sciences headed by its vice president Konstantin Frolov, visited major Japanese scientific and research centres and nuclear power facilities.

According to the agreement, the sides will exchange information and, in the coming three years, they will conduct joint research, including the analysis of the general safety concept for the development of nuclear power engineering, with due account of all registered breakdowns.

The sides will also develop new high strength materials for reactor structures and methods to test them and improve systems aimed to prevent and liquidate failures at nuclear power plants and methods to select sites for such plants.

They are expected to set up joint laboratories and increase exchanges of specialists to be trained and scientists to study the experience of developing and maintaining nuclear power plants.

Later, on the basis of the signed memorandum, they intend to work out an intergovernmental agreement in the field. The agreement will be prepared within the framework of the forthcoming visit by Soviet leaders to Japan.

Parliamentary Elections in Mongolia Reviewed

90US1284A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 14 Aug 90 p 3

[Report by A. Irzabekov: "Credit of Trust for the Communists"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar—Elections to the country's parliament—the People's Hural—have been completed in Mongolia. Runoff elections have to be held in 28 electoral districts since no candidate obtained the necessary number of votes. But the alignment of forces is already clear.

Of the 402 seats, 343 went to members of the MPRP [Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party], 23 to the Democratic Party, seven to the National Progress Party, four to the Social Democratic Party, and one to the Free Labor Party. In addition, members of the Revolutionary Youth League have four seats, and the remaining 20 are held by nonparty persons.

The social cross-section of the highest legislative body is as follows: Representatives of the intelligentsia and office workers constitute the vast majority of deputies (376). There are in parliament five workers, one clergyman, nine servicemen and one pensioner, and just 10 representatives of the country's most prevalent occupation—stockbreeding.

Under the real multiparty conditions the MPRP obtained at these elections a credit of trust from the people. It affords the party a real opportunity to rehabilitate itself following the mistakes it has made in the period since the people's revolution of 1921, when it was a monopoly political force.

A few words about the election campaign. There was a moment in the course of it when the very competence of the elections was called in question. It was decided at a meeting of representatives of the Mongolian Democratic Union and Mongolian Democratic Party—the most populous political organizations of the country after the MPRP, perhaps—to abandon participation in the elections. They gave as their reason for the decision primarily the fact that the local authorities had begun to form the electoral commissions even prior to the registration of the new political parties. Thus the vast majority of their representatives were excluded from the commissions. Second, serious criticism was evoked by a provision of the election law, which had only just been enacted, in accordance with which in the cities one deputy was elected per 10,000 persons, and in rural areas per 2,000-3,000. The positions of the new parties are strong, however, precisely in the cities. As a result, they believed, their parties had been placed in an unequal position. In addition, according to their leaders, there was not one of the 430 electoral commissions in which the rules of free democratic elections were not being violated.

Nonetheless, the six months of confrontation of political forces in Mongolia had taught everyone dialogue—as a result of joint meetings the government and the MPRP reached a number of compromises amounting to the acceptance of a number of the demands of the coalition of democratic forces.

Thus the activity of MPRP organizations in the army and the law enforcement authorities was temporarily suspended until the elaboration and enactment of the corresponding law. Regardless of the election results, all political forces would be represented in the Great People's Hural Presidium Consultative Council. Consent was given to the invitation of foreign observers. The new parties obtained government assistance for conducting the election campaign: the Mongolian Democratic Party, 400,000 Tugriks, the Mongolian Social Democratic Party and Mongolian National Independence Party, 300,000 each, and the Greens and the Free Labor Party, 100,000 each. As far as the MPRP, which obtained from the state 28 million annually, is concerned, subsidies to it were suspended back in May. The MPRP had already spent 11 million by this time. And received of the remainder just 500,000 in the form of assistance for conducting the election campaign.

In a joint statement at the height of the elections members of the coalition declared that they considered these measures perfectly satisfactory and that they would participate in the election struggle. Despite the shortcomings of the election law and the violations in the conduct of the election campaign, they expressed a readiness to continue the election struggle for the purpose of the continued democratization of society and the country's development.

During the past month the streets of Mongolia's cities were transformed beyond recognition. The walls of the houses were festooned with leaflets describing the candidates' election platforms. Use was made to this end of portraits of M.S. Gorbachev and even... the Mona Lisa in an endeavor by such devices to make the candidates' election platforms more attractive.

It was not only the financing of the elections that was fair on this occasion. The parties were also accorded equal television time—for propaganda of their platforms. The imagination was given full rein here: There was an animated clip with the "son of Heaven" galloping on his steed, and a video clip of Michael Jackson, during which the entranced viewer was urged: "Vote for the social democrats!"

So the elections are over. One further page of Mongolia's political calendar for 1990 has been turned. The new deputies have to elect the Small People's Hural—the country's standing parliament—and a president of the Mongolian People's Republic.

And one further important event—for the first time in the country's 70-year history it was visited by a U.S. secretary of state, this visit being linked directly both with Mongolia's new policy course and realization of its "open doors" policy.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Rogachev Comments on UN Meeting on Cambodia

LD2808105990 Moscow TASS in English 1040 GMT 28 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Text] United Nations August 28 TASS—Delegations to the regular meeting of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, focusing on ways to achieve a political settlement of the Cambodian problem, have achieved meaningful progress.

The meeting, which is being held at the U.N. Headquarters, involves the deputy foreign ministers of Britain, China, the USSR, the United States and France.

"This is the sixth meeting of this kind," Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Rogachev told TASS. "Work has been completed on another three important documents, which together with the two documents previously elaborated, will define the framework for the future settlement," Rogachev said.

"Great hopes are now pinned on a conference of all Cambodian parties, which is expected to be convened by the Indonesian foreign minister and his French counterpart, the co-chairmen of the Paris conference on Cambodia, in Jakarta.

"At this conference the newly-drafted documents will be turned over to the Cambodian parties (?and) their meaning will be clarified to them.

"The settlement is entering its final stage. Another one or two meetings among the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council will be held and, possibly, a final stage of the Paris conference will be convened before the end of the year to finalise an agreement on the settlement formula.

"A ceasefire must be implemented and foreign military aid to all Cambodian parties must be (?stopped). The Soviet Union has long since advocated a moratorium on all military supplies. This idea has now won recognition by the majority of the countries involved in the settlement process.

"An effective ceasefire can be enforced only if properly supervised. Until a U.N. control mechanism is created, only a voluntary ceasefire can be considered. Participants in the present meeting are calling for this voluntary action," Rogachev said.

Relations Between Cambodian, PRC Leadership Eyed

PM2808132990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by V. Ganshin: "Coalition Seeking Way Out"]

[Text] The meeting in Beijing this week of the three Cambodian opposition leaders and the Chinese leadership made another attempt to elaborate a common line of conduct (or at least one mutually acceptable to all the participants in the talks) regarding the Cambodian conflict and means of resolving it.

The most noticeable step in this direction, taken quite recently, was the U.S. decision to open direct dialogue with Hanoi and also the refusal to support the representation of the Khmer Rouge at the United Nations. In this connection it seems to me that China found itself in a very complex situation because throughout the years of the conflict it has been the main "sponsor" of the opposition forces.

On the one hand, support for the coalition government headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk has been Beijing's principled position in its confrontation with Hanoi and Phnom Penh. Judging by the Chinese leadership's recent statements, one can hardly expect any fundamental changes on this question. At the same time, bearing in mind that the Khmer Rouge are the main military force in the opposition, their international isolation could have an adverse effect on the prestige of China itself. And that problem worries China very much.

The basic principles of mutual relations between the State of Cambodia Government and the opposition were elaborated and sealed by the signatures of Hun Sen and Norodom Sihanouk just over two months ago in Tokyo. The draft final document of the meeting clearly outlined the shape of the future joint declaration: a cease-fire, the ending of foreign military aid to the warring groupings, the creation of an international control mechanism, and the formation of a Supreme National Council and its earliest possible convening.

In this connection the call to begin further quadripartite talks seems somewhat strange. Since there is the coalition government claiming the right to represent Cambodia at the United Nations and there is the Hun Sen government, what need is there to expand the circle of participants in the talks from two to four? Is it necessary to switch from the "one-plus-one" formula to "one-plus-three"? By all accounts, Phnom Penh considers this approach inexpedient whereas the Khmer Rouge insist on precisely that.

The point of their demands is generally clear and divides, as it were, into two aspects: the political and the military. According to the model devised in Tokyo, the 12 seats on the Supreme National Council are to be divided equally between the Hun Sen government and the opposition. Sihanouk and Son Sann have already nominated two candidates each from their groupings to represent their movements on the council. Two seats, as we can see, have been reserved for Pol Pot's men. In response to Phnom Penh's proposal to nominate three representatives from their groupings, both Son Sann and Sihanouk refused. Thus recognition of the viability of the "one-plus-three" formula, which the opposition is pressing for, effectively guarantees the Pol Pot supporters representation on the Supreme National Council.

On the other hand, the timetable for the cease-fire and the creation of the Supreme National Council outlined in the Tokyo communique do not suit Khieu Samphan because he is hoping to score decisive military successes during the rainy season and expand the territory under his control. That would enable him, if successful, to lay claim to greater influence in the future council.

Of course, it can hardly be claimed that the schemes of the Khmer Rouge tally completely with China's intentions. Beijing undoubtedly has interests of its own which it will take into account in this multifaceted scheme. It seems, however, that Beijing too is not averse to delaying the opening of the first Supreme National Council session until the beginning of the UN General Assembly session, where, among other matters, the question of Cambodia's representation in that international organization will be resolved. Whether the opposition can elaborate a common line of conduct and whether Beijing is capable of exerting decisive influence on its allies, only time will tell. Whatever happens, it seems that China's strategic interests will prove more important than the tactical aims of supporting the opposition to Phnom Penh and Hanoi.

Soviet-Australian Joint Enterprise Set Up

LD2908005390 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 0100 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Summary] The USSR Finance Ministry has registered a joint Soviet-Australian enterprise, called Ozat, with Aktyubinskselmash [aktyubinsk agricultural machinery] works acting as partners with the Australians. Ozat will open an account at the Soviet Foreign Trade Bank and set up an office with staff including translators. Additional production capacities are being installed. The new enterprise will have more skilled engineers and Aktyubinskselmash will continue to supply spares and shearing equipment to Australia. Previously 3,000-6,000 spare parts were supplied but in August 10,000 will have been sent.

Near East & South Asia

Belonogov Briefs Warsaw Pact Envoys on Gulf

LD2808162190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1522 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 28 Aug (TASS)—Aleksandr Belonogov, deputy USSR foreign minister, today held a routine meeting with ambassadors of the Warsaw Pact member-countries. Representatives of the allied countries were informed of Soviet evaluations of the development of the situation in the Persian Gulf in recent days; of the diverse efforts of the Soviet Union at the United Nations; and of bilateral contacts with other states, including Arab ones and including Iraq, for the purposes of preventing the threat of a military outburst.

During the exchange of views that took place an important place was occupied by matters of using political means to break the stalemate in the conflict and of implementing UN Security Council Resolutions in the interests of normalizing the situation in the Persian Gulf as soon as possible.

CPSU Official Reviews Gulf Crisis Options

PM2808152090 Paris L'HUMANITE in French 24 Aug 90 p 6

[Interview with CPSU International Department Middle East Sector Chief Vladimir Zenchev by Moscow correspondent Gerard Streiff; place and date not given]

[Text] [Streiff] Eduard Shevardnadze has just conveyed to the Iraqi envoy "concrete suggestions" about how to find a solution to the Gulf crisis. What could these be?

[Zenchev] The wishes expressed by our minister are part of our overall activity in connection with the Gulf crisis. We are very anxious about this crisis, and we do not want a military confrontation. Whatever is based on detente; we do not want a confrontation. So everything must be done to find a political solution to the conflict. We fully realize that this is a very difficult decision. Maybe it will not work. Nevertheless, everything must be attempted—I am talking about us but also about all the countries involved—to seek the slightest chance of a political solution. So we are striving to persuade the Iraqi leaders to display responsibility and goodwill in order to find a nonmilitary solution.

[Streiff] Does this desire not conflict with your proposal to reactivate the UN Military Staff Committee?

[Zenchev] There is no conflict. We believe that the adoption of a collective decision can only help to resolve the crisis. Frankly, this crisis is of a global nature. It is impossible to resolve it by local means. The international community must work on it. Iraq has interests in the matter, but so does Kuwait, and so do the Americans, so do the Europeans, and so do we. Many countries are affected. So the solution can only be a collective one. The UN decisions can help in this regard. If the world community adopts tough sanctions against the aggressor, it is entitled to do so and the USSR supports it.

[Streiff] As far as sending Soviet ships to the Gulf?

[Zenchev] Any military action can only count on our support on the following condition—that it is the result of a Security Council decision in accordance with Articles 41 and 42 of the UN Charter. As for the presence of Soviet ships in the Gulf, it would not be the first time. We have had occasion to go there, but it was not connected with military actions.

[Streiff] What initial assessment can be made of the diplomatic contacts that the USSR is carrying out?

[Zenchev] The Soviet stance—which is to seek a solution that harms nobody—is being received with much interest. We are only taking the first steps and we will not stop here. The situation is so complicated that no effort must be spared.

[Streiff] How would you describe the joint Baker-Shevardnadze statement on the Gulf situation at the beginning of this month?

[Zenchev] In a way, it was a historic statement. It is the first time for many years that the United States and the USSR, when confronted by an acute crisis, have found common ground and undertaken a joint action. It is important for the two major powers to speak thus with the same voice. This kind of alliance has been welcomed worldwide.

[Streiff] Last week PRAVDA said that Washington was "going too far" by sending in large numbers of troops. What do you think?

[Zenchev] There are several ways of assessing the U.S. military policy or of wondering whether it is appropriate to the situation. We have a proverb here which says that wherever there is a gun, sooner or later a shot will be fired.

[Streiff] What is the situation regarding the evacuation of Soviet residents?

[Zenchev] So far it is going well. Iraq is being cooperative.

[Streiff] What can be said of Soviet-Iraqi relations before 2 August?

[Zenchev] We were satisfied with our relations. A bilateral cooperation treaty has been in effect since 1972. I believe that we helped to halt the Iran-Iraq war and we were willing to help both countries in their reconstruction task. The events of 2 August saddened us. We could not fail to condemn the annexation and aggression. Since then we have respected the decisions decided on by the United Nations.

[Streiff] What prospects do you see for a comprehensive solution of the Near East crisis?

[Zenchev] I believe that the priorities have changed. There has always been tension in the Gulf, but the Israeli-Arab war was more important. Now the most urgent necessity is to resolve the Gulf crisis. With regard to the conflict around Israel, the current experience of international cooperation will certainly prove useful. And this could be helpful in mobilizing collective efforts.

[Streiff] Within the context of the redistribution of public offices in the USSR, who defines foreign policy now: the party, the president, or the minister?

[Zenchev] With the political changes, the decision-making machinery in foreign policy has also changed. Previously the party had a monopoly on decisionmaking. Things are different now, and there needs to be a coordination of efforts. Even though it no longer has a monopoly, the CPSU remains a leading party and it has its own say. The foreign minister draws up political proposals. His role has increased. He is more independent, more mobile. As for the ultimate authority, the president, he too has his say, and it carries much weight, especially in a conflict such as that in the Gulf.

Egyptian Deputy Premier Visits, Discusses Gulf

Sees Gorbachev, Shevardnadze

LD2908085190 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Arabic 1300 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid, Egyptian deputy prime minister and foreign minister has paid a short visit to the Soviet Union. He held talks with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. The talks basically covered the situation in the Gulf resulting from the Iraqi invasion of Kuwaiti territory. Our correspondent, Andrey Vassilyev met with 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid and posed a few questions to him.

[Begin recording] [Vassilyev] Your Excellency, it is known that there are voices in the Arab workd calling for a solution to the Gulf crisis to be found solely within an Arab framework, without assistance from foreign countries. Is an Arab solution possible for this crisis, in your opinion?

['Abd-al-Majid] We hope for this, and in fact the efforts made since the out break of the dispute between Iraq and Kuwait were Arab efforts—Egyptian first, and then by a number of Arab presidents and leaders.

Naturally, the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was a surprise to us, and to all. It came at a time when it was not believed it would not happen because it came in the dawn of Thursday, 2 August, and talks between the Iraqi and Kuwaiti sides had taken place in Jeddah on the Wednesday. True, these talks ended without a result, but the world was shocked by the start of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in light of the efforts made before it. These efforts were followed by the Arab League Council and the Islamic Conference Organization. There was also a call for an Arab summit made by President Husni Mubarak on 9 August. These efforts regrettably have still not led to results, hence the intervention of the United Nations, which, as we know, came in accordance with its charter.

We must not however rule out other attempts; if there are other serious attempts to resolve the matter within the Arab framework, then Egypt would welcome them. But the responsibility is incumbent on the Iraqi side to respond to these attempts, otherwise regrettably we will not attain this desired Arab solution. Egypt wants the efforts made by the United Nations be made within the UN Charter and international legitimacy.

[Vassilyev] In reality, I do not understand the position adopted by the PLO leadership toward Iraq's acts. Palestinian representatives say they have their own cause, and that they have their own tactic. What is the substance of this tactic?

['Abd-al-Majid] If you do not understand this, I, too, do not understand this. At a news conference in Cairo yesterday morning, before my departure to Moscow, this question was posed to me. I replied that it is of course the right of the PLO to take the position it deems fit, one which accords with its own point of view and interests; but we also have the right to say that this is a matter where we disagree with the organization. We will urge the PLO to review the situation in accordance to its right to take the view it chooses. Even if it is clear that the Palestinian issue is the main problem in the Arab world, this issue has now moved back, replaced by another issue—the Gulf crisis. We would have wished to see the main question remain the Palestinian problem. From the Egyptian point of view, we will always stick to the Palestinian national legitimate rights, and the right of the Palestinian people to have their own state and entity, despite the fact that we do not agree with the Palestinian brothers regarding the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

[Vassilyev] Excellency, the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait at the time of an easing of tension between East and West, and the ending of the cold war: Don't you fear that the Iraqi invasion will open a new page in a confrontation, not between East and West, but between North and South?

['Abd-al-Majid] The world now sees rapprochement and concord between East and West. We in Egypt consider the rapprochement between East and West is in the interest of peace and stability. We welcome it, regarding it as helpful in the process of easing tension, especially in regional conflicts. It is out of the question to see this [Gulf] dispute turn into a North-South dispute because of economic problems. However, North and South must agree that as a solution has been reached between East and West on political matters, there should also be an agreement between North and South on economic and trade questions. The world is now moving not toward military confrontations or ideological confrontations—we say this here in the Soviet Union clearly and with pleasure—but moving toward problems of development in the world. Peoples want to use their resources to improve their standards of living, and to secure a dignified life for every person in the world. The peoples of the states of the South ask for this, and the states of the North ought to respond to this. On the other hand, the confrontation you suggest could instead be cooperation. This is required from both sides, and responsibility is perhaps bigger for the states of the North because they are stronger and more capable. Problems of development in the South should be looked into. There are serious efforts made in this respect, and these attempts should increase so that we could prevent the confrontation that you say could occur in the near future. Egypt is calling for such a cooperation, understanding, and concord because these are the objectives of our foreign policy. Egyptian foreign policy in my view must realize three objectives: Peace, stability, and development. These three objectives are organically linked. If one element is missing it would not be possible for the remaining elements to continue. One cannot achieve development in a climate of instability or lack of peace. Development seems these days to have become the main preoccupation of the world, and I believe that what we are seeing proves that this is the objective that we must seek. I hope that I have explained my view in answer to your questions. [end recording]

Considers Talks 'Fruitful'

LD2808183690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of Egypt, left Moscow today. Yesterday, he was received by Gorbachev, president of the USSR, and had a conversation with Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs. Before his departure by air, Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid gave an interview for the "Vremya" program. Answering the correspondent's question on Egypt's position in the Iraq-Kuwait conflict he said:

[Begin recording] ['Abd-al-Majid, in Arabic with superimposed Russian translation] From the very beginning of the conflict, even before the armed invasion was carried out, Egypt had an interest in localizing the crisis. It intended to do everything to prevent its going beyond the internal Arab framework. For this President Mubarak held meetings and talks at the highest level with the leadership of Jordan, Iraq, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. Unfortunately it was not possible to extinguish the hotbed of the crisis, and now everything has become even more complicated.

[Unidentified correspondent] In Moscow you were received by President Gorbachev and you had a conversation with Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs. What are your impressions and what are the results of these meetings?

['Abd-al-Majid] The results of our meetings and talks are extremely positive and fruitful. President Mubarak instructed me to convey to the Soviet leadership the Egyptian point of view on the events taking place in the Near East and in particular in the Persian Gulf region. The activity of Egypt was highly appraised by the Soviet leadership, and particularly the role of President Mubarak and his efforts in the cause of restoring peace.

Urges 'Swift Military Action'

JN2908092090 Amman SAWT AL-SHA'B in Arabic 29 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

["Exclusive"]

[Text] Moscow—Private sources have told AL-SHA'B that during his talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid called for swift, direct military action against Iraq. He added that any delay in settling the issue will lead to the entrenchment of the fait accompli. By this he means what he calls Iraq's occupation of Kuwait.

'Abd-al-Majid also said that all the political efforts have failed and are only serving Iraq and its occupation of Kuwait. He also refused to link the Gulf issue with that of the Middle East, in compliance with the Soviet-French statement.

In another development, the Soviets called, through their Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, for finding an Arab solution and preventing an explosion in the region. He was responding to 'Abd-al-Majid's position.

Comments on Soviet Stance

NC2808165490 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1445 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Frankfurt, 28 Aug (MENA)—Dr. 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, said today that he reviewed with the Soviet leadership the latest developments in the Gulf region, the pre- and post-Iraqi invasion conditions, and Egypt's efforts to contain the crisis since it started.

In press statements made here today, Dr. 'Abd-al-Majid stressed that the Soviet side's views agree with those of Egypt on a number of issues. He said: The Soviet side told me of its stand in the Security Council and its desire to take a clear and firm stand on the council's resolutions.

Regarding the Soviet side's expectations of the opportunties for resolving the current crisis through a peaceful solution and whether Moscow rules this out in view of its recent stand in the Security Council, Dr. 'Abd-al-Majid said: We must not close the door to any opportunity for a peaceful settlement. He noted that he did not sense during his visit to Moscow any Soviet intention to send UN-affiliated forces to the Gulf region.

Regarding Jordanian King Husayn's efforts now, Dr. 'Abd-al-Majid expressed hope that the Jordanian king will succeed in all his efforts and called on Iraq to respond to these endeavors.

Regarding the meeting of the Arab foreign ministers in Cairo, the Egyptian official said: We hope it will be fruitful. I have already said that this meeting could be an opportunity for coordination among the Arab countries.

Regarding the existence of channels between Egypt and Iraq, he said: The channels remain and we hope they will not be severed. As to the crisis, each one of us knows the position of the other. They are different positions but we hope that this would not spoil cordiality.

Dr. 'Abd-al-Majid held talks with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher on his arrival in Frankfurt. The talks were attended by Egyptian ambassador in Bonn Ra'uf Ghunaym and Egyptian consul in Frankfurt Sa'id Abu-Jundiyah.

In his statements, Dr. 'Abd-al-Majid referred to the importance of Federal Germany's stand as a prominent EC member. He said: Our relations with Federal Germany are firm and we have close ties in all areas.

Notes Shared Goals

LD2808185290 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1400 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Soviet-Egyptian talks have ended. Dr. 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Egypt, took part in the talks. Our correspondent Aleksandr Timoshkin has met the eminent Egyptian guest and asked him to answer a number of questions. Here follows for you a recording of the interview:

[Begin recording] [Timoshkin] Your excellency deputy prime minister, please tell us about the objective or task of your current visit to Moscow?

['Abd-al-Majid] As a matter of fact I am charged by President Husni Mubarak with this mission. Its objective is basically to inform the Soviet side about the developments of the Gulf problem, Egypt's position on it, and our eagerness that our friends—the Soviet Union foremost—are aware of the origins of this problem which threatens security and peace in the region. Naturally, attention is directed to the Soviet Union. We are following the position of the Soviet Union on these issues and its major role in helping to resolve them. After his visit to Moscow, his excellency the president was keen to inform President Gorbachev about these subjects.

[Timoshkin] Is it possible to tell us something about the contents of your negotiations or talks with Minister Shevardnadze, and we also know that you have had a meeting with President Gorbachev?

['Abd-al-Majid] Naturally, I had a meeting in the morning with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and afterwards with President Gorbachev. I placed in front of them the developments of the Gulf crisis before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, and precisely stressed the role played by President Husni Mubarak in order to settle the question between Iraq and Kuwait cordially, and the details of his visit on 24 July to Iraq, then Kuwait, then Jeddah; and also all the attempts made by Egypt after this, starting with the meeting of the Arab foreign ministers in Cairo on 2 August, then the meeting of the foreign ministers of the states of the Islamic world on 4 August, and then the call for an emergency summit in Cairo on 9 and 10 August. President Mubarak played a major role in all these, and my mission was to place these facts in front of the Soviet leadership and discuss them with this leadership, in the framework of the eagerness to realize peace with a guarantee of a withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait and a return of legitimacy there, and also to arrive at a peaceful solution.

I was informed by the Soviet side about various positions and particularly the position of the Soviet Union on the decisions of the Security Council, which began from the day of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait with resolution 660 up to the last resolution 665.

[Timoshkin] What are the results of your meetings here?

['Abd-al-Majid] As a matter of fact, as you know, the results are first coordination and exchange of views, and at the same time eagerness for continuous consultation and coordination with the Soviet Union. On my part, I will be conveying all this to his excellency the president. We have also agreed with Minister Shevardnadze that consultation and encounters should continue whether between us directly, or through the Egyptian Embassy in Moscow and the Soviet Embassy in Cairo.

[Timoshkin] Among other issues you have discussed the issue of a settlement in the Middle East at large.

['Abd-al-Majid] Of course, this important issue was among the topics discussed, and also the keenness to give further impulse to the peace process. We also discussed Egyptian-Soviet relations which are, thank God, excellent, especially after President Husni Mubarak's recent visit to the Soviet Union.

[Timoshkin] Last question: What are your expectations over the near future concerning the Gulf crisis?

['Abd-al-Majid] We are concerned and prudent. But we still hope that wisdom will prevail, and that the problem will be solved peacefully. No doubt that as far as Egypt and President Husni Mubarak are concerned, I draw attention to the appeal in which he has urged President Saddam Husayn, in the name of humanity, Islam, sanctities, and Arabism to ensure that peace prevails in this region, and that we do not witness a destructive war whose consequences would be grave to all.

We should face these matters with all eagerness and determination to find a solution, and prevent armed confrontation if possible. Thank you. [end recording]

UN Secretary General Reconfirms Gulf Stance

PM2908085790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Aug 90 Second Edition p 5

[Report by V. Linnik under the general heading "PRAVDA Correspondents Report": "From New York..."]

[Text] UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar has announced his intention to hold talks with Iraqi Foreign Minister T. 'Aziz to seek peaceful ways to settle the crisis in the Persian Gulf. "After the Security Council's adoption of five very important resolutions, the time has come for the UN Secretary General to make diplomatic efforts aimed at resolving the crisis situation which has developed," he stated to journalists. This decision was greeted with approval by C. Maqsud, the Arab League's UN representative, who characterized it as "a step which definitely lowers the general level of tension." The UN secretary general enjoys prestige among Iraqis, Maqsud noted, because of the great role that he played in the settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict.

The decision announced by the UN secretary general is further confirmation of the fact that the United Nations is playing a very important role in efforts to settle the present conflict. The creation via the UN Security Council mechanism of a united front in condemnation of the Iraqi aggression and the slow but correct build up of pressure on Baghdad by the international community—all this reflects the United Nations' new significance in the world.

The world's stock exchanges reacted to the apparent prospect of a peaceful settlement in the Persian Gulf with an immediate rise in share prices. In New York the Dow Jones Index leapt almost 80 points after a three-week fall due to the bad news from the Arabian peninsula.

Jordan's Husayn Seeks Unity on Regional Tour

PM2908112990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by A. Portanskiy: "Search for Arab Initiative Continues"]

[Text] Algiers—King Husayn of Jordan is touring five Maghreb countries for the purpose of consulting with the leaders of the states of the region with regard to surmounting the crisis in the Persian Gulf. After Libya, where he arrived Sunday, the itinerary of the head of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan will take in the capitals of Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and Mauritania.

Having an idea of the U.S. approach to the problem following his recent talks with President Bush "at first hand," as it were, King Husayn intends to try once again, by means of personal meetings with the heads of North African Arab states, to create conditions for the emergence of an Arab initiative in resolving the crisis in the Persian Gulf.

It has to be emphasized that the existence of an Arab initiative on the Persian Gulf is important not only for the sake of respect for the ideas of Arab unity and the salvation of the dignity of all Arabs. The chief and most worthy aim of the present inter-Arab efforts is the creation of conditions under which the need for the presence of foreign troops in the region would fall away. For precisely this factor is now a bone of contention, polarizing the Arab states' positions on the conflict in the Persian Gulf and deepening the split among them. At the same time, as the West increases strong-arm pressure on Baghdad, feelings of solidarity with it are growing stronger in the Arab world and, simultaneously, condemnation of the regime of Saddam Husayn as the aggressor is easing.

This is why it is highly desirable to formulate an Arab initiative on the crisis in the Persian Gulf. Understandably, this is quite a complex task. Suffice it to say that even the positions of just the five aforesaid North African Arab states, which, incidentally, are united in the political organization, the Arab Maghreb Union, differ noticeably with regard to the conflict. So the present mission of the king of Jordan appears complex, although it does inspire certain hopes.

Kuwaiti Ambassador in Moscow Comments on Gulf

Interviewed on Settlement

LD2808164890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Our correspondent today visited the Kuwaiti embassy in the USSR. We offer for your attention an excerpt of his conversation with the Ambassador of the State of Kuwait to the USSR, 'Abd-al-Mohsen Yusuf al-Du'ayj:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Mr. Ambassador, what comment would you make on the Soviet Union's position on settlement of the conflict in the Persian Gulf?

[Al-Du'ayj, in Arabic fading to Russian translation] We should very much like to thank the Soviet Union for its position on Resolution 665 of the UN Security Council. This is a positive position, but in our view nothing prevents the Soviet Union from taking more decisive steps regarding the crisis if the economic blockade of Iraq does not achieve its aim. It was a step taken by the Soviet Union as a state responsible for the preservation of global peace, and we are grateful to it for this. One would like to point out that by supporting the UN resolution, the Soviet Union did not give Iraq the opportunity to set the two great powers at loggerheads. We are sure that if the decisions of the Security Council are not implemented, the Soviet Union will act in accordance with point 42 of the UN charter, and its example will be followed by other states, too. Our Soviet friends have been continually telling us that they precisely prefer a stage-by-stage method of implementation of the resolution. If it has not proved possible to implement the first, then a second should be adopted. [end recording]

Aims of 'Exiled Government'

PM2808155090 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 13, 24-30 Aug 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Kuwaiti Diplomat's Olive Branch to Iraq"]

[Text] Despite Iraq's annexation of Kuwait, the Kuwaiti embassy in Moscow continues to function as normal, taking instructions from its legitimate government now in exile in Saudi Arabia. Here is a statement by 'Abd-al-Mohsen al-Du'ayj, Kuwaiti Ambassador to Moscow.

"We were completely surprised at the news of the war. No one had predicted it, even though there had been threatening noises from Iraq, which was refusing to sign a new border agreement with us.

"The invasion of Kuwait was undoutedly intended to be permanent. The war can be explained by Husayn's huge self-confidence and by the fact that he is not very well educated. He did not foresee the world reaction and that to gobble up a neighbouring country runs contrary to all principles of natural justice.

"Since the war started we have had no contact with the Iraqi Embassy in Moscow. I'm quite prepared to meet the Iraqi ambassador and discuss the issue on Soviet TV. I don't believe that he genuinely supports what has happened, but how can he stand up to Husayn?

"If any Iraqi comes to the embassy and asks for the political asylum in Kuwait, I will certainly grant it.

"Unfortunately, Kuwait has fallen victim to the fact that Arab attitudes are often informed by the contradictions inherent in the Arab world. In general the mood of the Arabs is determined by what they read in the press.

"Of course, if they read that the Americans are preparing to attack Iraq, or that the Israelis are going to assassinate Husayn, they will take his side. But eventually, the real state of affairs will become glaringly obvious to them.

"The claim that Iraq entered Kuwait at the request of young freedom-loving Kuwaitis who wanted the monarchy deposed, is completely false. Husayn seized the country by force, without the support Kuwaiti people.

"For three days he tried to form a cabinet before finally setting up an Iraqi military government headed by his son-in-law. Now he has moved on to another argument, saying that he's helping the Palestinians.

"I hope he will not meet with approval in the USSR. A brief glance backwards is enough to see that the Kuwaitis have given the Palestinians far more support than the Iraqis ever did. Who are they to lecture us on this subject?"

Reports on Persian Gulf Events Continue

Peace Groups Criticize Iraq

LD2808145390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1417 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Excerpts] Moscow, 28 Aug (TASS)—The Soviet Peace Committee, the Soviet Committee for Peace, Disarmament and Ecological Security on the Seas and Oceans, the Soviet Peace Fund, and the Soviet Association for the Law of the Sea have adopted a joint statement which stresses that the crisis in the Persian Gulf continues to cause alarm to all peace-loving countries and peoples of our globe. [passage omitted]

In their statement, the broad circles of the Soviet public have addressed a call to the USSR's government to submit the issue of Iraq's aggression against Kuwait as an important and urgent one on the agenda of the forthcoming session of the UN General Assembly for discussion of the situation which has formed and the adoption of collective, considered steps to settle the conflict with regard for the legitimate interests of the peoples of the region. They also propose that the question of recalling all Soviet military specialists from Iraq should be reviewed, as should the possibility of suspending the treaty of friendship and cooperation with Iraq until Kuwait's sovereignty is fully restored.

Group of Evacuees Leaves Iraq

LD2908065590 Moscow TASS in English 0642 GMT 29 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—The second group of Soviet nationals to be evacuated from Iraq arrived in Moscow from Baghdad on an Aeroflot plane this morning.

Women and children are the first to be evacuated from Iraq, TASS was told at the Soviet Foreign Ministry. The group that arrived today comprises 333 people, 118 of whom are children.

The next group of Soviet nationals is scheduled to arrive in Moscow on Friday.

Cuba Will Impose Sanctions

PM2908081590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Aug 90 Second Edition p 5

[Report by A. Moiseyev: "Echo of Crisis"]

[Text] The Cuban Government has stated that it will strictly carry out the UN Security Council decision imposing an economic embargo on Iraq.

A letter addressed to UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar by Cuban Foreign Minister I. Malmierca says that his country has not carried out any direct trading transactions with Iraq since 6 August. At the same time the minister notes that, out of humanitarian considerations, the Cuban authorities are not including supplies of food and medicine and the provision of medical services within the sanctions. At present there are more than 250 Cuban doctors, nurses, and technicians in Iraq. Specialists engaged in other spheres will be returning home.

Split Seen in Iraqi Army

LD2808144190 Moscow TASS in English 1414 GMT 28 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Malyarov]

[Text] Cairo August 28 TASS—The Iraqi Army is divided in its attitude to the invasion of Kuwait and Iraq's subsequent stance on the Gulf crisis, the Egyptian AL-WAFD newspaper writes today.

The newspaper quotes persons who fled from Kuwait and Iraq to Saudi Arabia, including deserters from the Iraqi Army. They said displeasure with Saddam Husayn's actions among officers of the Iraqi Army is great and is mounting.

The AL-WAFD points out that Husayn already executed by firing squad several generals and top officers for their open disagreement with his position, and cites their names.

Earlier, the AL-AHRAM reported that 120 officers in the Iraqi Army were shot for refusing to fulfil the order to invade Kuwait.

The AL-WAFD also reports, with reference to eye witness accounts, that Iraq is tightening security measures in the Kuwaiti capital. Tanks and armoured vehicles appeared once again on Kuwait's streets. Reinforced army patrols equipped with heavy machine-guns and grenade launchers were posted on crossroads and squares.

Tank units are taking positions near the international airport. Additional anti-aircraft missile installations are being moved there.

Residents of nearby areas are banned, under pain of death, from looking out of windows and watching the troops.

Refugees link these measures with the intensification of actions by the Kuwaiti resistance movement. It is also reported that after each operation by resistance fighters, Iraqis methodically bombard residential neighbourhoods in the area of the attack.

According to reports from Baghdad, there are serious food shortages in the Iraqi [words indistinct] beginning from September 1, bread, flour, rice, meat and several other products will be rationed in small quantities. Today, a kilogram of meat costs about 30 U.S. dollars, but it is impossible to get it.

Commentaries Assess, Report on Mideast Events

Persian Gulf Called 'Supertense'

PM2808184090 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 29 Aug 90 p 3

[Article by Vladimir Mikhaylov: "Trial by Crisis"]

[Text] To say that the situation in the Persian Gulf is tense is to say nothing at all: It is supertense, and further confrontation carries the threat of an explosion with unpredictable consequences. The world is anxiously following the news from there, but—alas!—it is far from good. Iraq is refusing to fulfill the decisions of the world community, is holding on to occupied Kuwait, and is behaving like a bandit toward thousands of foreign citizens by making them hostages to its own reckless policy. It is acting barbarously, in violation of the Vienna convention on diplomatic relations, with regard to foreign embassies.

The United States, for its part, is stepping up its military presence in the Persian Gulf region, where the number of servicemen will soon reach 100,000. And expeditionary brigades of marines are arriving in full combat rig, and the way in which they are deploying here indicates that a long stay is intended.

The countries of the region, in a panic, are issuing the population with gas masks, having serious fears that Baghdad may use chemical weapons, while statements can be heard from Tel Aviv on its capability to inflict a lightning lethal strike on Iraq.

All this is hardly conducive to a good night's sleep and a healthy appetite.

All the same, at the risk of being misunderstood, I will say: Analysis of the entire situation surrounding the conflict gives grounds for optimism too. If you take a broader view of events you cannot fail to see that the world has changed. It has changed even in comparison with five years ago. I dare not imagine what would have happened if these events had occurred in 1985—if only because of the reaction of our country at that time. It may be assumed that in response to the moving of American armadas to the Persian Gulf, Soviet ships would also have been sent there, and perhaps airborne landing formations would have gone to the aid of "friendly Iraq."

Today, however, we see political wisdom prevailing in the actions of the leaders of the majority of the world's states. The results of the vote in the UN Security Council—13 "for" and two abstentions—is a historic phenomenon unparalleled in contemporary politics. This action, aimed at preventing a more dangerous turn of events, brought together in one "team" what had until recently been irreconcilable opponents who on more than one occasion formerly used the veto to spite one another—the United States, the USSR, and China. Saddam Husayn, planning and carrying out his act of piracy, can hardly have expected the world to prove so unanimous. Baghdad had not yet recognized the current changes.

Yes, times have changed. In the "hottest" spots the warring parties have realized: You cannot settle conflicts or decide questions by military means. And we are seeing with satisfaction how political realism is beginning to prevail in Afghanistan and South Africa, Nicaragua and Cambodia, and other unquiet regions of the globe. And although the situation in the Persian Gulf remains explosive, I will make so bold as to assert: The world has already passed its trial by this crisis. Passed it for the time being.

Solution 'In Saddam's Hands'

LD2908125190 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Commentary by Aleksandr Bovin]

[Text] It's perhaps for the first time after the war that we see a local conflict bringing about Soviet-American rapprochement rather than division. This very important factor indicates that world detente is beginning to affect the settling of concrete foreign policy tasks.

Both we and the Armenians have condemned Iraq's aggression and the annexation of Kuwait. Both we and the Americans are demanding that status quo be restored. But does this mean that the Soviet Union's stand is identical with that of the United States? I don't think so. There is an important nuance in this respect. From the Soviet Union's point of view, joint efforts under the United Nations flag are essential. As for the United States, they favor a United Nations role too. But the main thing for the United States is perhaps to rely on its own strength and actions rather than on the world community decision's implementation.

Thus far the two powers' stands differ. A compromise has been found in the last decision of the Security Council over the use of force. Moscow and Washington have both backed up the resolution, so what next?

It's for God or Allah to answer what's next since (?it's) referring to Muslim regions. Apparently they know what will come next. I can only say that the key to the door leading to the future is in President Saddam Husayn's hands. It depends exclusively on him whether events develop peacefully or some military solutions will be a more probable means to settle the crisis.

If Saddam Husayn displays common sense and the Iraqi troops leave Kuwait, this will solve all the problems by peaceful means, but if he continues to stick stubbornly to his present day position and stay in Kuwait, maltreat the hostages, and act in defiance of the United Nations resolutions, I don't rule out an outburst of military actions, and that would be disasterous not only for Iraq but for the region as a whole, and not only for it.

Mideast Allegiances Viewed

PM2808143490 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 34, 21-27 Aug 90 pp 6-7

[Article by Leonid Mlechin: "The Friends We Did Not Choose"]

[Text] How would Moscow have regarded the occupation of Kuwait in the pre-Gorbachev era?

Would Moscow have congratulated the Iraqi "international soldiers" who came to assist the fraternal people of Kuwait in deposing a regime opposed to the people? Or could Moscow have reserved judgement, but have solemnly warned the United States and Israel that any attempts to interfere in the inter-Arab affairs would be condemned by the world public?

Even today, such a reaction would have pleased many in this country. Some people continue to believe that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1980 was an attempt to safeguard the territorial integrity of the Soviet Union on its advance frontiers (NASH SOVREMENNIK, 5/90). So why can't Saddam Husayn defend the Iraqi borders from the territory of neighbouring Kuwait? Why should the Soviet Union take the side of pro-Western Kuwait, and not of its true friend Iraq, a time-tested ally in the struggle against international imperialism and Zionism? How could Moscow join the United States fighting with the help of Soviet weapons and Soviet military advisors?

The unconditional Soviet condemnation of the Iraqi aggression demonstrated that the Soviet leadership has remained true to the principles it has voiced. One cannot seriously speak of one's dedication to the cause of peace and give one's blessing to aggression against and occupation and annexation of an independent state. How can one condemn at every opportunity the actions of the Western powers at Munich and their attempts to apease Hitler, while doing nothing to stop and rebuff an aggressor? But the matter is that the aggressor is an old friend with whom Moscow has a friendship treaty and a commitment to supply arms.

Soviet policies in the Middle East have slowly been evolving. The resolute condemnation of Iraq, however, means a U-turn in Soviet policies there. In general, nothing special has happened. Simply, for the first time in four decades, Moscow rejected the seemingly unshakeable attitudes of who is right and who is wrong in the Middle East and called an aggressor a state that would have otherwise enjoyed complete and unconditional support. Unfortunately, though, this turn in Soviet attitude may be interpreted in the Arab world as a betrayal of an old friendship.

In actual fact, the honest reaction from Moscow is a sign that the Soviet Union is reconsidering its national interests.

In 1947, Stalin supported the establishment of the State of Israel, because he wanted it to become an anti-British stronghold in the Middle East. Later, Moscow came to regard Arab countries as the genuine anti-imperialist and particularly, anti-American force in the region. CPSU leaders often renounced their principles for the sake of concord with newly acquired friends. Al-Nasir cracks down on Communists? So what? Sudan's Al-Numayri slaughters Communists? He will have his weapons anyway! Communists fleeing from Iraq call Saddam Husayn a fascist? Saddam shoots those Communists who had no time to escape? It does not really matter. The main thing is that the president is a stalwart fighter against imperialism and Zionism. In the eyes of Soviet leaders, growing anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist struggle was the main Soviet interest in the Middle East.

Naturally, the Soviet Union has its own interests in the Middle East. These interests, however, are not connected with egoistic desires of certain groups of states, but coincide with the interests of the region as a whole. The main lesson of the Iraqi aggression is that an individual interest which runs counter to international law and morality leads to an unprofitable, ineffective and unreasonable policy. It will merely be an attempt to recruit dishonest partners and military dictators as friends in order to achieve a desired end. But such attempts always backfire.

Has Moscow paid too dearly for years of support given to Saddam Husayn? This is a reson to start a thorough revision of Soviet policies in the Middle East: should we continue to suply arms to and call friends regimes which favour the use of armed force, have hailed Iraq's annexation of Kuwait and called Saddam a hero?

Besides, they are sure that the Soviet Union must go on helping them, often giving the shirt off its back merely because they put forward vociferous and florid slogans. Confrontation with the West is not our priority task any more. Another objective is gaining priority now: promoting military detente in the region. Obviously, arms deliveries are hardly conducive to detente as is the setting the region's states at loggerheads. Soviet diplomats have not yet established normal relations with the influential state of Saudi Arabia and the Saudi regime was considered pro-imperialist and reactionary (as well as the regime in Kuwait). On the contrary, countries like Iraq were rated as "progressive."

The Soviet diplomacy in the Middle East is influenced by one more factor: the large number of Muslims in this country. Today it is still difficult to assess the harm done to Moscow's relations with the Soviet Islamic republics by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The declaration of a jihad against Soviet invaders could not have gone unnoticed and portraits of Khomeyni at bazaars in Soviet Central Asia and Azerbaijan are very demonstrative. Undoubtedly, Soviet Muslims must be given every opportunity to communicate with Muslims in the Arab world. Such communication may open a new channel of the Soviet interaction with the Arab world, including moderate Arab regimes such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, etc. That is, an interaction with all those for whom peace and stability in the region prevail over all other considerations.

Soviet, U.S. Stands Compared

LD2808212590

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 28 August carries a three-minute commentary by Viktor Levin, who first notes that some Arab newspapers reproach the USSR for playing into the hands of the United States in its position on the Gulf Crisis, while in the United States itself one can encounter the view that the USSR should take a more active part in the blockade of Iraq. Levin says that opinions do vary, but if one looks at the facts one can see that the USSR immediately denounced Iraq's aggression against Kuwait although it is no secret that good relations had been formed between the USSR and Iraq. Moral principles have gained the upper hand, and one would like this to be the norm of international relations for all states. The USSR has voted for all the Security Council resolutions on Iraq's aggression against Kuwait.

"At the same time the Soviet Union maintains relations with Iraq and uses the opportunities it has, including personal contacts, to once more put our position to the Iraqi leadership and help overcome the crisis situation. One would hardly dispute the fact that the opportunities for a political settlement of the conflict are not yet exhausted. That being so, one must act and act with maximum vigor precisely in the search for such a settlement. This is, incidentally, what the continual dialogue with the United States, too, is about. As I have learned from authoritative sources in the Foreign Ministry, our Minister Shevardnadze maintains continual contacts with U.S. Secretary of State Baker, and before the adoption of the last resolution they spoke on the telephone several times. that is how things are," Levin concludes.

Role of Advisers Questioned

PM2808153690 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 34, 2-9 Sep 90 p 3

[Article by Sergey Volovets: "Advisers of the Soviet Land"]

[Text] I was lucky with the cancellation of Article 190-I of the Criminal Code. I was spreading deliberately falsified slanderous concoctions discrediting, if not the entire Soviet state system, then surely the Ministry of Defence. For example, when answering a foreign radio correspondent as to whether I had heard about the General Makashov's appointment as a military adviser in Iraq, I replied irresponsibly that, if so, no better present could be thought of for Saddam Husayn. Aware of the changeability of our laws I want to say in advance that I have no intentions of leaving the USSR, and I'll give a decent explanation.

Colonel-General Albert Mikhailovich Makashov, as previously, is in command of the troops of the Volga-Urals military district, the headquarters of which, as Krasnaya Zvezda remarked, "is much closer to the banks of the Volga than to those of the Tigris and the Euphrates."

And who of the colonel-general's colleagues are now on those far-away banks? At a briefing on August 6 the Foreign Ministry spokesman said that there are about 1,000 Soviet servicemen in Iraq. According to the statement of the spokesman of the same Foreign Ministry on August 15 there are no Soviet military advisers in Iraq, but only military experts numbering 193 people.

Where have the remaining 800 military experts disappeared to? Calm down they're still there and doing their jobs. The whole thing is in the subtleties of linguistic definitions and people in charge of briefings are good judges of them unlike the off-hand journalists who are too lazy to choose the needed euphemisms. A long time ago, when preparing for my profession, I jotted down a line from THE TIMES of London struck by the openhearted sincerity of the great paper: "After heavy military bombing and ground fighting the American advisers abandoned Laos." They were real advisers.

Our military experts are rarely used for staff planing or direct participation in hostilities, although such things do happen as, for example, in Afghanistan or Angola. What 20,000 Soviet servicemen (of course, by Western sources of information) have been and are still engaged in different countries, such as Syria, Iraq, Vietnam, Cuba, Ethiopia, Angola, Peru—the list is much longer than what could be published here—in the language of those who conduct briefings is called a service. They help the armies in those countries, to which Soviet weapons flow, train people to master them and use them with the greatest efficiency.

These are sophisticated modern weapons. For example, Iraq was supplied with Su-25 aircraft which USSR allies in the Warsaw Treaty almost did not get; T-72 tanks, mighty artillery systems, mobile missiles and so on. In the 1980s Iraq received arms worth almost $20 billion. During the same period, according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), African countries received armaments from the Soviet Union worth $25 billion.

This flow presupposes the translation of the instructions for the utilization of Soviet "defence items", training, supplying spare parts meeting unsatisfactory equipment claims. In addition, one should not forget about political and party organizational work. And many other things.

At least today nobody is going to call for vegetarianism and a complete end to arms deals or the use of military advisers, no matter the country or the time. The thing is that it should not run counter to our national interests or common sense.

The Soviet Union sends weapons and advisers mainly to those countries which are endangering peace and stability in their regions: Iraq, Syria, Ethiopia. Secondly, our experts' advise and our weapons do not get us a flow of hard currency or goods from the other side. Either these countries have nothing to pay with (as is the case with Ethiopia) or else it's not clear how they will be able to pay even during the lifetime of this generation (as is the case with Iraq). Iraq's debts after eight years of war using Soviet weapons against Iran amount to over $80 billion. For arms supplies alone it owes Poland nearly one billion dollars. As we can see, Saddam Husayn, again by means of Soviet weapons, found a way to settle accounts: to seize by force first Kuwait's oil and then entire Arab world's oil. And we won't be paid at that time either.

All that is happening with the advice of our servicemen and our weapons is not the result of evil war or foul intention. This is above all, the result of the exessive influence of the military-industrial complex in our society, the momentum of the giant machine once started and, only thirdly, due to the interests of narrow groups who wish for a lengthy stay abroad in order to advise others.

Therefore, it's highly important to get this sphere of activity from under departmental interests and place it under very strict parliamentary control. Only by thorough parliamentary hearings and the decisions of legislations our aims, priorities and principles can be established in this sphere.

When this issue of MOSCOW NEWS was ready for print reports appeared again from Western mass media sources close to the CIA, to the effect that General Makashov was seen in Baghdad. This is outrageous. Americans dream of having to deal with Saddam Husayn, who is acting on the advice of our general normally stationed on the banks of the Volga!

Chemical Arms Threat Assessed

PM2808152790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Article under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Press Service": "Saddam Husayn's 'Chemical Big Stick'"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Just a little while ago Iraq, in the person of its foreign minister, Tariq 'Aziz, in an interview with U.S. CBS TV, declared: "If an attack involving the use of nuclear weapons is made on Iraq, we will retaliate by using chemical weapons." However, literally the next day AL-QADISIYAH, the Iraqi Defense Ministry newspaper, wrote something completely different. Emphasizing that Iraq has binary chemical weapons, it warned that "any attack on Iraq" will be repulsed with the use of chemical weapons.

In connection with Tariq 'Aziz's remark cited above, it should also be remembered that claims that Iraq also has nuclear weapons have appeared in the foreign press. The Israeli press especially often advances various arguments in corroboration of these rumors, but Iraq persistently rejects them while at the same time endeavoring with equal persistence to prove that Tel Aviv actually does possess such weapons.

Well, this is generally nothing out of the ordinary: Speculation on rumors is part of the political struggle. The article which appeared, for instance, in the UK military journal JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY can also be put down as this, to some extent. The issue published 18 August featured an article based on U.S. intelligence data which claims that Iraq has around 10 Soviet-produced Su-24 bombers, which are known under the name of "Fencer" in the NATO countries. This bomber, the journal notes, can ensure the delivery of chemical weapons, and this is why Iraq is so shamelessly brandishing the threat of their possible use. In terms of its basic specifications, the weekly claims, citing the conclusion of U.S. experts, this bomber is comparable to the U.S. F-111, is capable of bombing with pinpoint precision, and, with a mid-air refueling capability, is virtually unlimited in its range....

I am not a specialist myself and I cannot judge whether Iraq has the Su-24 or how far the availability of this aircraft might ensure a government's confidence in the success of its military policy. But, despite that, I do know that chemical weapons can be used with various methods of delivery. For instance, by missile or artillery shell.... Everyone knows that Iraq does not only have combat hardware branded "Made in USSR." [passage omitted]

There are claims that Baghdad also has bacteriological weapons. Well, for the umpteenth time we are finding that some one is once again "presenting us with a fact." But that is not the point in this case.

The parties to the conflict have directly stated the possibility—if only as a "worst-case scenario"—that they will use chemical weapons. So when you read news agency reports of debates within a government about the need to supply the population with individual CW protective garments, of purchases of anti-gas first aid kits for sending to the crisis region, of leaflets instructing the population what to do in the event of a chemical attack, of drills by the troop contingents in Saudi Arabia involving the use of CW protective suits, of deliveries of "Fuchs" anti-gas tanks from the FRG for the U.S. troops in the region, or even of how Israeli rabbis are telling diligent members of their congregation to shave off their beards in order not to lower the effectiveness of gas masks—God forbid that they have to use them—you have to regard all this with due seriousness.

But when certain reports begin to reek of speculation and provocation, this "information" becomes dangerous.

UN Resolution May Unite Arabs

LD2808162290 Moscow TASS in English 1601 GMT 28 Aug 90

[By TASS news analyst Albert Balebanov]

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—It is obvious today that the crisis provoked by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait can and must be settled by making use of the Arab factor. The success of the efforts to prevent an armed conflict in the Middle East, which is fraught with grave consequences both for Arab countries and the rest of the world, seems to hinge on this factor.

The Arab factor implies above all the search for an Arab solution to the crisis. The mechanism of the partners' mutual commitments, including in defence, which exists within the framework of the League of Arab States (LAS), could facilitate this search. Clearly, it would be easier for Arabs to find mutually acceptable ways out of the stalemate than for Europeans or Americans.

But the quest for this solution requires, first and foremost, the consolidation of Arab countries' ranks. As Mikhail Gorbachev emphasised in his talk with Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Abd-al-Majid, Arabs should demonstrate their capacity for prompt consolidation.

One has to state with regret, however, that there is no unity among Arabs on Iraq's invasion of Kuwait today. This was revealed, in part, by the Arab summit in Cairo, when only 12 countries out of 20 LAS member-states unequivocally denounced the Iraqi invasion.

There is no doubt that the Arab Gulf countries would clearly prefer to have the United States' military presence somewhere behind the horizon rather than in the Gulf region. Undoubtedly, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates were compelled to allow the deployment of American troops on their lands. It was not easy for them to make this decision. Iraq's incursion into tiny Kuwait forced them to take this measure.

Baghdad put its supporter, pro-Western King Husayn of Jordan into a difficult position. On the other hand, the PLO leadership approved the Iraqi invasion and turned its back to Kuwait, which gave refuge to 300,000 Palestinians and for a long time provided all-round aid to the Palestinian resistance movement.

In short, the Iraqi armed action against Kuwait has divided significantly the Arab world. It affected Palestinians' interests by pushing the Palestinian issue to the background of world politics, which plays into Israel's hands.

In Tel Aviv, they are rubbing their hands, looking at how differences among Arab countries are widening, how Arabs are fighting against each other. The more so that Arabs' key argument about the inadmissibility of the occupation of foreign lands became less plausible against a backdrop of the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait.

All this would not have happened had Iraq's aggressive aspirations been met with a strong rebuff on the part of the entire Arab world at an early stage.

It seems that in this situation Arabs urgently need to make joint decisions to overcome the Gulf crisis, proceeding from the premise that political means are far from exhausted. The well-known U.N. Security Council resolutions could form the basis of Arab countries' joint actions.

'Deadlock' Prevents Action

PM2908142390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 90 Second Edition p 4

[By TASS correspondent under the rubric: "View From Cairo": "Stumbling Block"]

[Text] Iraq's aggression against its neighbor—tiny Kuwait—has caused something like a state of shock in the Arab world. As was reported at the Arab summit in Cairo, they have not managed to draw up a resolution acceptable to everyone. In the ballot, eight countries out of 20 did not support it.

The text of the resolution is well known—to condemn aggression, demand the withdrawal of troops, restore the legitimate regime in Kuwait, support the self-defense measures taken by Saudi Arabia in inviting U.S. troops, and send Arab units to the Persian Gulf to protect the states in the region from possible aggression.

What is the stumbling block for the Arabs, who do understand that an outbreak of military action is not at all in their interests? The point is not that the Arabs think differently from the whole world, and do not condemn treacherous aggression. The narrow political interests of various other leaders and groupings, and reliance on financial assistance from Iraq, are also having their effect.

But that is still not the main point. The Arabs, even the pro-American regimes in the Persian Gulf, while not doubting the sincerity of the West's motives in protecting international law, are having serious doubts about the selflessness of U.S. future plans for staying in the region. As the Egyptian internationalist historian Professor M. Mutawalli notes, Washington will not limit itself to punishing the aggressor. The most important thing for Washington is having unhindered access to the oil and pushing aside not just the Arabs themselves, but also West Europe, because of prospects of competition, from controlling the situation. Military action will inevitably provoke a division in the Arab world which is also convenient for the United States and Israel.

In these conditions many Arab leaders, even as they are condemning the aggression, are worried that an official statement on their part of support for sanctions against Baghdad will give the United States a free hand as far as military action is concerned. However, in answer to these arguments, Egyptian President H. Mubarak is stressing that it is the passivity of the Arab world that is courting military disaster, since it can be used as a pretext for independent actions by the West without taking into account the Arabs' opinion. Cairo understands that a military skirmish between the United States and Iraq will divide the Arab world for a long time and destroy the edifice of Arab unity which was restored in the past few years and which, it seemed, would at any moment move the task of a Near East settlement out of deadlock.

It was no accident that, after the extraordinary conference in Cairo, H. Mubarak invited the Syrian president as well as the presidents of Algeria and Libya, who do not support the resolution, to Alexandria, where the four of them discussed ways out of the crisis for almost 24 hours. Egypt is continuing intensive diplomatic efforts with the aim of avoiding a military outburst. On Sunday, H. Mubarak held talks with Syrian President al-Asad in

Alexandria. The Arab League countries' foreign ministers are to meet again for an emergency sitting 30 August in Cairo.

The contradictions among Arab countries are still great—as demonstrated by their ambiguous reaction to the latest UN Security Council resolution. But a realization of the danger hanging over the region is forcing them to make energetic attempts to draw up an "Arab solution." King Husayn of Jordan has made a series of tours of the region. Palestinian leader Y. 'Arafat is constantly traveling between Baghdad and other Arab capitals. Libya, Algeria, and Yemen have put forward their proposals to settle the crisis.

The situation is tense—the first shots have already been fired in the Persian Gulf, although at the moment they are warning shots. The smell of gunpowder is getting stronger. It has become customary for any local conflict in the Near East to grow almost immediately into one involving the whole region and threatening to draw the great powers into it. The world has gotten used to thinking that the Near East means oil and war. There is still no answer to the question of whether this opinion will be strengthened or whether the world community's collective steps will lay down the beginning of the path toward peace here.

'Contradictions' in Arab World

PM2808140990 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 34, 26 Aug 90 p 13

[Article by Andrey Olitskiy: "The Near East: A Chain of Detonators"]

[Text] This region is overflowing with arms, including Soviet-made ones. Who are they targeted against today?

Iraq produced further proof of the inconsistency of the biased and ideologized approach toward the Arab world's problems. People in the Soviet Union are accustomed to viewing the Arab world as somehow united, but this is certainly not the case in reality. Of course, the Arab peoples share a common racial and anthropological type, territory, language, and culture, they share a common historical destiny, and they also have joint political interests as regards the outside world. Several unifying processes are in operation there. At the same time, however, there are also deepening differences between Arab countries: There is growing inequality in economic development, while internal conflicts and contradictions and ethnic and confessional dissensions are exacerbating. The inter-Arab conflicts of the last few years have inflicted greater losses and taken the lives of more people than the entire period of Arab-Israeli confrontation.

There is no question that the external factor has always played and still plays a significant role in the situation in the Near and Middle East: This includes the Soviet-U.S. rivalry, the interference by other countries, and—of course—the confrontation with Israel. But greater importance attaches now to the actual internal contradictions, which were not really discussed in the USSR. The fact that people strove not to raise this "delicate" topic was, in many instances, justified by sundry political considerations, but the use of ideologized stereotypes to explain the processes occurring in the Arab East was detrimental to the elaboration of a realistic perception of problems, and it even penetrated science and practical politics.

This is how sundry myths and confusions emerged in our Middle East theory and practice. Here is one of them: We were always accustomed to exaggerating the anti-imperialist nature of Arab states' policy. On this basis, we deemed it necessary to support their policy virtually unconditionally, and demanded—or at least expected—reciprocity from them. Whereas this might have made some sense during the period of confrontation, it now becomes a counterproductive factor in Soviet foreign policy. The prevailing tradition of dividing all Arab regimes into progressive, revolutionary-democratic, and the so-called moderate or conservative ones today often creates difficulties for our cooperation and reduces its effectiveness.

Our aid to individual Arab regimes, especially the military aid rendered for the consolidation of their independence and the resistance to aggression, has in numerous instances led to a destabilization of the situation, and certainly did not help to strengthen security and peace in the region. Our leaders found themselves hostages to the fatherland's peacemaking activity, and they hardly imagined that Libya would use Soviet weapons for a war of conquest against Chad, Syria—for the conduct of combat operations against the Lebanon's civilian population, South Yemen's revolutionaries—for a bloody civil conflict, and Iraq—for the annexation of Kuwait. Did any of them realize that many of the so-called anti-imperialist regimes in the "third world" (Libya, Syria, Iraq, and many African countries) are in fact dictatorial, and that some of our friends and allies are in fact dealing not so much in politics as in politicking, adopt a parasitical attitude toward our aid, and—in the event of changing circumstances—could suddenly execute a 180-degree turn, as has already happened on several occasions?

Here is today's paradoxical deployment of forces. On the one side we have Iraq, which is backed to varying degrees by Libya and Yemen, with all three countries being recipients of Soviet arms. On the other side there is the bloc of Arab countries headed by Egypt, where the second most powerful country, Syria, is armed by the USSR. Soviet military specialists work in both Iraq and Syria. Can this be described as anything else but a policy of surrealism?

The Near East today involves not just the Arab-Israeli conflict, whose core is the Palestinian problem. Lebanon's problems remain very acute, while the situation is also influenced by the conflicts in Western Sahara, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Cyprus, and Afghanistan and by the growing tension in individual countries, all of which transforms the region into something resembling a powder keg. Next in line is the Kurdish question, whose acuteness is rising but our official press has for some reason kept stubbornly silent about it for many years. Against this background, Iraq's aggression against Kuwait could become a detonator capable of producing an almighty explosion. A considered and reasonable approach by all forces operating here is needed more than ever before.

I personally am alarmed by the fact that many of the incompetent persons who, throughout the last few decades, participated in the elaboration of our foreign policy in this part of the globe and committed numerous mistakes, still influence the mechanism of political decisionmaking.

Fighting Among Afghan Islamic Factions Reported

LD2808143590 Moscow TASS in English 1353 GMT 28 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Semenov]

[Text] Kabul August 28 TASS—Militants from the Islamic Party of Afghanistan and the Islamic Society of Afghanistan clashed in Tagab district of Kapisa Province.

Heavy arms were used and both sides lost several dozen men.

Prominent field commander of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan Ahmad Shah Mas'ud sent several groups to reinforce units of the Islamic Society in places that are under its control.

The opposition continues to prevent Afghan refugees from returning home.

A few days ago, Jalaluddin Khakkani, a commander of one of the groups of the Islamic Party Jalaluddin Khakkani [as received], at the head of three units, attacked in Jawara Afghan people returning from the Pakistani camp Chashmeh, forcing them to turn back.

Government troops and the opposition have been fighting for the past three days near Jalalabad and Khowst. Two trucks and an ammunition depot, six grenade launchers, three recoilless guns, three mortars and firearms belonging to militants were destroyed.

Afghan, Soviet Leaders Committed to Settlement

LD2808164290 Moscow TASS in English 1634 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—The recent meetings in Moscow between President Najibullah of Afghanistan and Soviet leaders, above all his talks with President Mikhail Gorbachev, are of exceptional importance, chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Near East Department Yuriy Alekseyev told TASS today.

During the talks, the leaders reconfirmed their commitment to the political settlement of the Afghan conflict and expressed mutual desire to look for the most effective ways of dealing with the issue.

The Soviet and Afghan leaders, Alekseyev recalled, discussed in detail the planned elections in Afghanistan which are expected to crown the transition to peace in Afghanstan. These will be free and democratic elections which will lead to the creation of a broad-based coalition government, Alekseyev stressed.

The Soviet spokesman pointed to the importance of "the fact that President Najibullah confirmed his intention to create a coordinating body, which will function during the transition period and in which all Afghan political forces will be represented."

In addition, the Afghan Government has announced its agreement to transfer to this coordinating body some ministerial functions and even subordinate to it some units of the Afghan Army and Interior Ministry troops on condition that armed rebel units will be subordinated to it, too.

Alekseyev also singled out Najibullah's statement that the country's mass media will provide an extensive and objective coverage of the coordinating body's activity and thus facilitate the implementation of its decisions relating to the preparation and holding of the elections.

"Naturally," Alekseyev noted, "during the meetings and talks Najibullah had in Moscow, the state of, and prospects for Soviet-Afghan bilateral relations were extensively discussed.

"Considerable attention was given to making these relations more beneficial to both sides, an aspect to which particular importance attaches at present."

Sub-Saharan Africa

Commentary Says UNITA Lacks Flexibility

MB2408174290 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Commentary by Yelena Olgina—read by announcer]

[Text] A third round of talks on a cease fire in Angola was expected on Tuesday. Its foreign news agency has announced UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] was advancing new demands as a condition for the talks. Yelena Olgina comments:

The (?five) points, unfortunately, do not contribute anything actually new in principle. What they do prove is the die-hard positions UNITA has taken. [Words indistinct] certain logic in the appearance of such seemingly unexpected statements. The moment the MPLA [Movement for the Popular Liberation of Angola] and UNITA advance at least half a step toward mutual understanding, or the moment the talks show the least sign of getting off the ground, Jonas Savimbi advances an ultimatum—immediate recognition of the political equality of UNITA and the MPLA, direct and general elections without delay, the immediate introduction of a multiparty system. Simply speaking, the demands boil down to the immediate legalization of UNITA. On the contrary the stance of the MPLA Labor Party has undergone considerable changes over the past year, and the Angolan leadership is showing readiness for a reasonable compromise.

At the same time, Jose Eduardo dos Santos' [words indistinct] quite understandably as a case in point, is a compromise with an organization that is in opposition to the legitimate government. There can be no talk of any kind of equality between the (?partners).

As you may have heard, a special commission was set up recently to review the constitution in force, and there is a possibility of transition to a multiparty system, but only if, and when, the nation agrees.

But is it a multiparty system and democracy that Jonas Savimbi and his supporters are so anxious to achieve? A key point in their latest ultimatum is not a political, but economic demand. It boils down to complete freedom of private and foreign enterprise on the territory of Angola. Foreign companies have been dealing on Angolan territory with success for quite some time, but they remit a considerable part of their profits to the national Angolan treasury.

Apparently the United States would prefer to have monopoly rights on Angola's oil fields, and in other two industries. I personally have no doubt that UNITA would grant the United States such privileges should it come to power. No coincidence, therefore, that the foreign minister of Angola, Pedro de Castro van Dunem, remarked in an interview for the TASS Soviet news agency that the United States is out to oust the MPLA Labor Party from power, either immediately or gradually. There can be no [words indistinct]. As a result the United States could them get back all the millions of dollars it spent on UNITA, while Jonas Savimbi would immediately forget about his anxiety for the destiny of multiparty democracy in Angola.

New Soviet Ambassador to Benin Named

PM2808190090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 7

[Unattributed "Chronicle" report]

[Text] The USSR president has appointed Vitaliy Konstantinovich Zhuravlev USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the People's Republic of Benin.

The USSR president has released Valentin Viktorovich Pavlov from his duties as USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the People's Republic of Benin in connection with his retirement on pension.

East Europe

Gorbachev, Hungarian Socialist Party Member Meet

PM2908080990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[Text] On 28 August, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met Gyula Thurmer, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP].

In a frank and comradely exchange of views, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed the principled importance of the renewal of the CPSU in accordance with the crucial decisions of its 28th Congress. He accentuated the striving of Soviet communists toward cooperation with the broadest circles in society, with all who are interested in a decisive and dynamic improvement in the social and economic situation and the moral and political climate in the country, on the basis of democracy, legality, and the protection of the rights and interests of the working man. Such cooperation is an essential and reliable road to the consolidation of society, to overcoming all manner of destructive forces and dangerous confrontations.

Gyula Thurmer discussed the complexities of the situation in Hungary and attempts by reactionaries to make political capital out of stoking up anti-communist hysteria and anti-Sovietism. In these difficult conditions the modern HSWP considers it essential to consistently protect the interests of the working class, the peasantry, and the working people, and to preserve adherence to socialist ideas which, even in a swiftly-changing situation, do not lose their value.

Gorbachev wished the Hungarian comrades and all the people of Hungary success in overcoming economic difficulties, and spoke out for the development of all that is good and mutually beneficial which has been created by joint efforts in relations between the Soviet Union and Hungary.

Taking part in the conversation was G.I. Yanayev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Hungary's Antall Addresses National Day Rally

PM2808185690 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by B. Rodionov: "Rejoinder": "All You Can Do Is Throw Your Hands Up..."]

[Text] The name "sick man of Europe" was once bestowed on the Ottoman Empire during its decline. In an "epoch of imperialistic wars and proletarian revolutions" this scathing expression was readily used to discredit governments of one sort or another. The building of a new Europe which has now begun on our continent required the discarding of the old propaganda cliches.

They are going out of use in official Paris, official Bonn, and other European capitals. But, alas, not yet everywhere.

Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, speaking at a mass rally to mark the country's national holiday, deemed it appropriate to talk of a "disintegrating, sick Soviet Union," which, it is true, can no longer "seize Europe," but which has a devastating effect on the Hungarian economy. According to the newspaper report, the premier described Soviet leaders and reformers Gorbachev, Shevardnadze, and others as graduates of "the political school where Andropov—the Soviet ambassador to Budapest in 1956—taught.

We will not go into the question of which political school the premier graduated from himself. Even in Budapest they are throwing up their hands in bewilderment at some of his pronouncements. Thus, quite recently in parliament he attempted to rescue from under fire the elderly General Kery, a colleague in the same faction as him, who had made a faux pas with soldierly directness by saying that Horthy's army had conducted a just war since it was fighting against communism. It is difficult to get one's bearings in Dr. Antall's speeches, the Budapest newspaper MAGYAR HIRLAP later lamented. It is indeed not easy. For example, G. Jeszenszky, the Antall government's foreign minister, quite recently quoted in the pages of IZVESTIYA (No. 220) his premier's words that Hungary would like to be the ally of all Europe, including the Soviet Union....

That is precisely what Moscow wants too. We are now experiencing a most bitter crisis, and nobody in the country is hiding the fact. Alas, at the moment the Soviet Union is not the most reliable economic partner, and this situation is the subject of fierce criticism in our press. An intensive search for a solution to the crisis and for ways of improving is going on. And Moscow, having finished with the "Brezhnev doctrine" not in words but in deeds, is in my view entitled to expect the understanding of its neighbors and partners.

Albanian Delegation Seeks Broader Trade Links

LD2808124990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1120 GMT 28 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Ruslevskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 28th Aug TASS—Members of the Albanian delegation that arrived here on Monday [27 August], headed by Kostandin Hoxha, this country's deputy minister of foreign trade, expressed to the Soviet side their readiness to renew Albania's trade and economic and financial links with the USSR. Valeriy Pashko, deputy chief of the directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations (MFER), informed a TASS correspondent about this.

The guests from Albania are prepared to meet representatives of the ministries of foreign economic relations, civil aviation, and the maritime fleet, as well as gosplan and the USSR Foreign Trade Bank, on these aims, Valeriy Pashko said. The delegation has extensive powers and is committed to resolving the broadest range of problems, from legal to commercial, that would permit an agreement on renewing Soviet-Albanian trade and economic cooperation to be reached within a very short time.

The delegation is in the USSR as part of an accord between the ministries of foreign affairs of the two countries. The envoys from Albania feel the sooner all contacts between Albanian and the USSR are restored the more useful this will be for both peoples, the MFER representative noted.

The Soviet Union until now has been trading with Albania via Bulgaria, and such a procedure will remain in force until the end of the current year, Valeriy Pashko reported. Nevertheless, this does not hinder direct contracts in cases where this is necessary. For example, a contract on the delivery of a batch of Albanian cigarettes to the USSR was signed a could of weeks ago by representatives of the foreign trade departments of both countries. From 1 January 1991, all trade between the two countries will be carried out without intermediaries.

Reinforcements Will Curb Polish Border 'Unrest'

PM2808103190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Aug 90

[Report by A. Paulyus and cameraman S. Gelbakh from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Paulyus] Here is the opinion expressed by Valentin Konstantinovich Gaponenko, commander of the Baltic Border District, which he stated in a conversation with journalists visiting the border.

[Gaponenko] Extremist Sajudis forces want through this action to create unrest on the state border. We've heard this on the TV and radio, and we know of it from our official and unofficial conversations. This has very much concerned and alarmed us. [video shows military equipment, personnel in position] We will be forced to reinforce our border details with personnel and hardware so as to prevent unrest on the border. So as to prevent an Azerbaijan scenario. We have done so, taking account of existing laws. Under Article 73 of the USSR Constitution the defense of the state border is the responsibility of the USSR. [passage omitted]

East German Hope for Prosperity an 'Illusion'

PM2908104190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Aug 90 Second Edition p 7

[Dispatch by own correspondent M. Podkluchnikov: "Decision Adopted, Problems Remain"]

[Text] Berlin 25 Aug—"At last," FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl exclaimed in the Berlin parliamentary building.

This emotional exclamation by the top West German visitor referred, however, not to the fact that he had crossed the threshold of that building, but to the fact that a few hours earlier the Volkskammer had adopted the decision on the GDR's accession to the FRG on 3 October. The uncertainty and juggling with dates on the important question of the timetable for the unification of the two states was thus ended.

The chancellor's visit to the GDR capital had a specific objective. After taking part in a sitting of the parliamentary faction of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] - Democratic Awakening and the German Social Union, the FRG head of government demonstrated his readiness to get actively involved in the election campaign in the GDR. Elections to the Landtags will be held in East Germany, as people know, on 14 October. Helmut Kohl stated that he intends to address voters at least 12 times during the election runup. After 3 October he will appear at rallies and meetings as "chancellor of the two Germanys."

The GDR population is pinning on the coming unification its hope of an end to the chaos into which the East German economy has now been plunged. However, the FRG chancellor deemed it necessary to cool down expectations somewhat. After the traditional reference to the consequences of the command-and-administer management of the economy, he warned that it is impossible to change the prevailing situation in a couple of months. At the same time it is thought that the GDR's accession to the FRG, which means that legal uncertainty will be ended in the east of Germany, will stimulate West German capital to make investments in the East.

Political commentators consider this yet another illusion bound up with German unification. In reality difficult times still lie in store for the economy in East Germany.

'Dramatic Events' in Bulgaria Examined

PM2908151590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Aug 90 First Edition p 5

[Article by TASS correspondent A. Smirnov for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "Bulgaria: Who Is To Blame?]

[Excerpts] For the first time in the last 28 years the ruby-colored star adorning the building of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council—previously that of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Commitee—did not shine over Sofia. And it was the star which had forced this small country to be rooted to the spot for 24 hours, tensely awaiting the outcome of the dramatic events which took place on the capital's central square on Sunday night and in the early morning of Monday.

Everything had begun a few days earlier with a certain Plamen Stanchev stating that he would set fire to himself if the star were not removed. Last Wednesday one of the socialist leaders officially informed Stanchev that his request would be met within five days. On Sunday, when the time limit was up and the star still remained in its old position, Stanchev poured petrol over himself actually on 9 September Square and again threatened self-immolation.

Then, at the instigation of Konstantin Trenchev, leader of Podkrepa, the confederation of labor (the Bulgarian version of Polish Solidarity), an infuriated crowd set off for the BSP Supreme Council and took it by storm, breaking glass and doors. [passage omitted]

This action redolent of facsism has been sharply condemned by virtually all Bulgarian parties and public organizations, including the opposition, which has stated that the attack on Party House is not just an attack upon the BSP but affects all democratic forces, including the Union of Democratic Forces, and the very parliamentary system in Bulgaria.

Today the situation in Sofia is calm. Only the cordon of militiamen surrounding the fire-affected party building recalls the seething passions there. The ruby-colored star is again illuminated (for how long?). There is now the chance to glance back and analyze what happened. After everything that has become known about the crime, the conclusion is self-evident: It is clear that the action was planned in advance by political extremists bent on achieving their own personal objectives by any means. They used dubious elements for this. After all, all parties and organizations have dissociated themselves from the participants in the act.

The events on the main square showed the authorities and the law-enforcement agencies to be in a state of virtual lethargy, to say no more. And that only resolute actions by the president helped them emerge from their slumber. But the main conclusion however, is that the situation in the country is explosive and the slightest ill-considered action or statement by one of the main political forces would be enough for political enmity to flare up again.

The general discontent based on the disintegration of the economy rouses political passions. And after the act of vandalism in Sofia this is a conclusion with which all political forces and their leaders are in agreement today, aware that such a flare-up will lead to tragic consequences for the first shoots of democracy in Bulgaria.

Ryzhkov Sends Condolences to Yugoslavian Leader

LD2808145790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, head of the Soviet Government, has sent a telegram to [Yugoslavia's] Ante Markovic, Federal Executive Council president, in which he expressed profound sympathy in connection with the tragic accident at the Dobrnja mine, which resulted in many human casualties. Comrade Ryzhkov asked to convey sincere sympathy to the relatives of the dead miners.

West Europe

Impact of Troop Withdrawal From Germany Viewed

90UF0473A Moscow TRUD in Russian 17 Aug 90 p 3

[Report by correspondent A. Soloshenko: "Expenditures Will Be Recouped, But..."]

[Text] Bonn, August—In the context of German reunification, the question of the fate of foreign forces deployed on the territory of the two German states remains the most delicate and, perhaps, the most painful issue from all standpoints—diplomatic, historical, political, economic, and psychological. And while the principles of withdrawing these forces beyond the borders of the future unified state have been primarily determined, there is debate concerning the "techniques" and repercussions of this process.

What is the picture on the eve of unification? According to German press figures, the American military contingent in Europe is at 255,000 men. Some 97 percent of them are stationed on the territory of the FRG. Subunits of the Armed Forces of Britain, France, Canada, Belgium, and Holland—West Germany's NATO allies—need to be added to this U.S. total. Some 363,000 men—this is the figure put on Soviet military personnel in the GDR.

Together with the members of their families and civilian service personnel the number of persons related to the foreign military contingent on the territory of the two present German states now constitutes 1.2 million.

The civilian service personnel is paid by the corresponding state. The West German side provides administrative and residential buildings, firing ranges, and barracks free of charge. Their operation and maintenance, however, is the foreigners' concern. Bonn's annual budget appropriations for the presence of just the American forces is put at $900 million. The presence of the Soviet forces is paid for by the GDR treasury. As of 1 July, following the elimination of the East German mark, its 1:1 exchange for the West German mark for the upkeep of the Soviet contingent was agreed. Up to the end of the year this will cost the FRG 1.25 billion West German marks.

The withdrawal of foreign forces from East and West Germany, one study notes, will not quickly have a positive impact on the economy of the unified state. Additional outlays, primarily for the solution of social problems, should be expected in the immediate future. This expenditure, however, will be recouped subsequently by the appreciable unburdening of the country's budget of payments to the allies.

Experts are today counting up the social and financial-economic details of the impending troop withdrawal. It is noted that numerous vacant areas will in the very near future even emerge in the place of the present bases for industrial and housing construction. True, the departure of foreigners from the apartments will not appreciably alleviate the housing problem. At best, it is estimated, 20,000 apartments will be vacated by 1997, whereas there is a shortage of 600,000 of them currently in the FRG alone.

Lukyanov Receives Swiss Parliamentary Leaders

LD2808191590 Moscow TASS in English 1840 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—Soviet Parliament head Anatoliy Lukyanov today received presidents of the National Council and the Council of States of the Swiss Federal Assembly Viktor Rueffi and L. Matias Kavelty, who arrived in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet parliament.

Lukyanov informed them of tasks faced by the Soviet parliament, particularly in connection with the transition to a regulated market economy and the need to ensure social protection of the population. He also spoke of principal approaches to the elaboration of a new union treaty concept.

Rueffi and Kavelty shared experience accumulated by the Swiss parliament in resolving social, economic, ecological and ethnic problems. They expressed support to perestroyka and democratisation in the Soviet society and said they were ready to render assistance to these positive processes.

The sides discussed current international problems, first and foremost, connected with Europe and the formation of new security structures on the continent. They favoured further development of cooperation between the two countries within the framework of the CSCE and the Council of Europe.

They noted the need to develop Soviet-Swiss cooperation in various fields, including between parliaments, their committees and commissions.

Yanayev Receives Finnish Party Secretary

PM2908101190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Aug 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] On 28 August there was a meeting between G.I. Yanayev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and M. Viialainen, general secretary of the Finnish Left Alliance, who was visiting Moscow at the CPSU Central Committee's invitation. They discussed questions of interparty relations and topical problems of the situation in the world.

Talks Held on Joint Space Project With Austria

LD2808150490 Moscow TASS in English 1818 GMT 28 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov]

[Text] Vienna August 28 TASS—Soviet and Austrian experts met in Graz, the administrative center of Styria land, to discuss the joint Soviet-Austrian space project, scheduled for late 1991. The meeting focused on the scientific programme of the joint mission to the Soviet space station Mir, which consists of 15 experiments, mostly in the medical field.

The meeting, attended by representatives of the Soviet space agency Glavkosmos and Austrian Ministry of Science and Research, for the first time checked prototypes of measuring instruments to be used for experiments on board the station. They were developed by various Austrian universities and other research institutions. The instruments passed the tests despite several reservations by Soviet experts.

"Hopefully," Willibald Reidler, one of the Austrian heads of the project, told TASS, "the forthcoming experiments will provide vast scientific material on medical and physical processes in a vacuum." Having expressed the conviction that the scientific value of the experiments will do more than cover the expenses for the flight, the scientist stressed that Austria had fruitful long-standing cooperation with the Soviet Union in space research.

"Our contacts in this sphere," he noted, "have continued for 15 years. Now, when Austria can take part in the manned space flight, it is fair to say that this interaction is entering a qualitatively new stage," Riedler said.

Meshketian Turks Meet Turkish Envoy on Emigration

LD2808220190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2000 GMT 28 Aug 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] At an Internal Affairs Ministry briefing today, it was stated that during the seven months of this year, 234,000 Soviet citizens left the USSR to take up permanent residence abroad. Two-tenths of one percent were not allowed to emigrate.

Well, soon, as you know, a law on emigration will be adopted, which will largely simplify and facilitate the process. Perhaps, we will not then be telephoned, as happened today, by people asking—demanding—to help them and bring along a camera. They were Meskhetian Turks.

[Video shows men holding placards. One in Russian says: "Free emigration for Soviet Turks!". Another says: "USSR-Turkey, we await a decision on the resettlement of Soviet Turks in the homeland of their forefathers." A third placard appears to be in Turkish]

Today, as yesterday, they gathered with placards outside the Turkish Embassy.

[Camera zooms in on a man in the crowd, identified as T.A. Kurdayev] [Kurdayev] Our people find themselves in a lamentable state, especialy because of such events in recent years as those in Fergana, as a result of which 100,000 members of the 300,000-strong Turkish population have become refugees.

[Video shows another man, identified as I. Ganiyev, standing beside Kurdayev and nodding] [Ganiyev] Today we had a meeting with the ambassador, Volkan Vural. We met him literally an hour ago. He assured us that Turkey is ready today to take 5,000 families and that will happen literally during the next two to three months. Our fatherland is Turkey. Turkey is the only salvation for the Soviet Union's Turks. We ask the whole society of the Soviet Union to help and the whole community of the world's peoples. Help us! Save us from this tragic situation! [video shows other men holding placards]

Lithuanian Leader Visits Norwegian Premier

Reaffirms Mutual Ties

LD2808114190 Moscow TASS in English 1103 GMT 28 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Neshumon]

[Text] Oslo August 28 TASS—Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis and Norwegian Prime Minister Jan Per Syse discussed ways to extend Lithuanian-Norwegian relations.

The two men discussed the situation in the Baltics and reaffirmed that the sides had a vested interest in extending cooperation, primarily in the field of economic and cultural relations.

The Lithuanian president noted that Lithuania is not in a position to ask for foreign aid. "But if western countries wish to help us, we will be grateful," he said.

It is pointed out here that the question of recognition of Lithuanian independence by Scandinavian countries, in particular by Norway, was overshadowed by the necessity of establishing bilateral economic ties. Lithuania favours developing "special" relations with the Norwegian side, modelled on the Finnish-Estonian pattern, and hopes that Norway will act as "a sponsor" of the Lithuanian economy.

The Lithuanian president, who is in Oslo for the international conference "the Anatomy of Hatred—Overcoming Conflicts Through Dialogue and Democracy," plans to hold negotiations with representatives of the Norwegian business community and meet public figures and politicians from the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Scores West on Baltics

LD2808221190 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] During the course of his address at the international conference in Oslo today, Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council Vytautas Landsbergis reproached the Western democracies for their weak stand toward the Baltic States' quest for democracy.

Over 70 famous world politicians, public activists, scientists and writers are taking part in the conference, "Anatomy of Hatred," held in the Norwegian capital.

Having been frightened by instability, the West has closed its eyes to the Baltic nations' problem," observed Vytautas Lansbergis. In an interview with a Norwegian Press Agency correspondent, he compared today's Persian Gulf situation with the 1940 events in the Baltic region.

Estonian Premier's Visit to Denmark Reviewed

LD2808150590 Tallinn International Service in English 2030 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Estonia's prime minister, Edgar Savisaar, was in Denmark last week for three days on the invitation of the Danish prime minister, Poul Schluter. On Wednesday Edgar Savisaar and Poul Schluter met in Copenhagen. Mutual relations were discussed as well as the possibility of solving the Baltic crisis on the international level within the framework of European politics. Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar was accompanied by Estonian Minister of Foreign Affairs Lennart Meri, and the deputy minister of economy.

The three Estonian ministers brought back a draft of a cooperation agreement between Estonia and Denmark. In the next few days it will be sent to Copenhagen together with Estonian Government remarks and (?additions). It will be signed in four to six months.

Just after Edgar Savisaar's visit to Denmark a delegation of the Danish parliament visited Estonia. They are very interested in Estonian industry and agriculture. The Danish delegation was warmly accepted by the Estonian Supreme Council. [passage omitted]

Political & Social

Gorbachev, Yeltsin Begin Talks in Moscow

LD2908103390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1021 GMT 29 Aug 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Lev Aksenov]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Aug (TASS)—A meeting between USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, head of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] parliament, started here this morning. A wide range of issues concerning the situation in the country are being discussed in the course of the three-hour conversation. This became known in the secretariat of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium following Boris Yeltsin's arrival here.

Official representatives of the Russian parliament told the TASS correspondent that the meeting is to be continued this afternoon.

Power Distribution Discussed

AU2908081790 Paris AFP in English 0809 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, Aug 29 (AFP)—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev met on Wednesday with the president of Russia, Boris Yeltsin, the unofficial INTERFAX news agency reported.

At the meeting, which had been postponed 24 hours, the two men were to discuss the transition to a market economy and the distribution of power between the Soviet Union and the 15 republics, subjects on which they have publicly disagreed in the past.

Mr. Yeltsin wants to increase Russia's control over its natural resources while Mr. Gorbachev's view is that the prerogatives of the republics and the centre should be defined in a new treaty of union to be concluded before the end of the year.

'Concern' Over Economy Voiced

LD2908122790 Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] President Gorbachev and the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin have met in Moscow to discuss a wide range of issues dealing with the country's life. As the news agency INTERFAX has reported, the two leaders are exchanging opinions concerning the current political situation in the country and in the Russian Federation. Concern was expressed in particular over the current state of people's well-being and the state of affairs in the economy, pressing for the need to consolidate all the forces and take decisive steps.

The two leaders gave much attention during their talks to the programs of switching over to a market economy. They laid a particular emphasis on the need to sign an economic agreement between the sovereign republics without delay aimed at building a single Union market. Urgent measures were also considered needed to stabilize the economy. These measures are expected to be submitted for consideration of the joint meeting of the Council of the Federation and the Presidential Council.

Spokesman Briefs Press on Meeting

LD2908130690 Moscow TASS in English 1253 GMT 29 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondents Andrey Orlov and Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—Soviet presidential press spokesman Vitaliy Ignatenko described the meeting between President Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, which began today, as "good will and constructive."

Ignatenko, the new head of the president's press service, today held his first briefing at the Soviet Foreign Ministry press centre.

Commenting on the Gorbachev-Yeltsin meeting, he said that in addition to internal problems, the two men also discussed some international issues, "in particular, Europe and the Far East, including Japan." Overall, the agenda of the meeting, held shortly after Yeltsin's return from a tour of Russia, includes some 50 issues.

"At present our leadership has a single desire to stabilise the situation, to use authority to protect the new economic policy, the new union and perestroyka," he said.

Ignatenko said that the Presidential Council and the Federation Council will meet in the Kremlin on Thursday [30 August] to discuss a wide range of issues: economic policy, the domestic situation, questions about federation and ways to cushion society's passage to the market. Representatives of central and republican governments, [as] well as all autonomous entities, will be invited to the meeting.

"Tomorrow's meeting will determine the country's future for many months ahead," Ignatenko stressed.

The Soviet president is expected to address journalists at the Foreign Ministry Press Centre in the next few days.

Ignatenko, 49, appointed to the post of aide to the Soviet president and head of the president's press group, only "63 hours ago," was editor-in-chief of the weekly NEW TIMES. Under his stewardship this weekly has turned from a mediocre exponent of official circles on international issues into one of the most popular and readable publications, noted for its original ideas and independent analysis of international and domestic problems. Earlier Ignatenko worked at the newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, the TASS News Agency and the CPSU Central Committee. The new aide is married and has a son.

Commentator Views Talks

LD2808124690 Moscow World Service in English
1110 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Commentary by Vitaliy Gurov]

[Text] According to the independent news agency INTERFAX, President Gorbachev will meet the head of the Russian parliament, Boris Yeltsin, on Wednesday. Vitaliy Gurov of our staff makes these comments:

The end of this summer, which unfortunately did not become a time of political calm and peaceful parliamentary vacation, has been marked by emerging confrontation between the two governments—the national and the strengthening Russian. There is also evidence of absence of full understanding between Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, though just recently much was said that they are clearly moving toward each other. It wasn't the matter of a ritual handshake but a number of concrete concerted actions of course, primarily the formation of a team of economists under the auspices of Gorbachev and Yeltsin. The team is working on a concept of a transition to market relations as a possible alternative to a similar program of the government group of scientists and experts.

In other words, one can probably speak that the reconciliation of Gorbachev and Yeltsin, their concerted actions on a number of key issues, proved that the two leaders have divided spheres of influence; therefore the latest presidential decree concerning the economic priorities of Russia can be viewed either as a manifestation of mutual lack of understanding or another attempt to return Russia to the old state structures. However, I recall the phrase of Boris Yeltsin that from now on Russia will be an independent republic and will no longer be associated with the central authorities. In this connection the confrontation of the past few days looks quite serious and might lead to a constitutional crisis in the country.

I think if Gorbachev and Yeltsin meet they will not speak only of economic problems and a transition to market relations, but raise a number of pressing political problems of relations between the Russian Federation and the central government for the more [as heard] reason that Boris Yeltsin has just completed his three-week tour of Russia, where he faced numerous problems—social, economic, and political. Simultaneously the tour seems to have promoted the popularity of the Russian leader, which can also be considered an important factor in the relations with the central government and Mikhail Gorbachev.

The coming meeting of the two leaders should also be viewed in the context of the session of the Russian parliament opening in Moscow next week. Boris Yeltsin said that among many other things, the session will have to discuss the law on national property and taxes, recently passed by the national parliament. Boris Yeltsin and some of his supporters believe the laws are unacceptable for Russia. What will the further course of developments be? What can this disobedience of the biggest Soviet republic lead to? Hopefully the meeting will remove the serious differences between Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin on the eve of the session. Hopefully they will continue their movement toward each other.

Hijacking Leads to Firing of Yakut MVD Leaders

PM2808215590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
29 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by B. Vasliyev: "'Flight Probe' in USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs"]

[Text] On 27 August there was a USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] collegium meeting which examined the question of the seizing of an aircraft in the Yakut ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] and the calling to account of guilty officials. At IZVESTIYA's request Militia Lieutenant General I. Shilov, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs, comments on the decisions adopted:

"We assess the seizing and hijacking of the aircraft by criminals under escort unequivocally—as an incident which has caused serious damage to state interests and Soviet citizens' rights and safety.

"This was an unprecedented event—an investigation into the irresponsibility of the Yakut ASSR MVD and extremely lax scrutiny and liberalism on the part of the republic ministry collegium and minister V. Balduyev personally. As a result many leaders of internal affairs organs lost any sense of personal responsibility for the state of discipline, organization, and order in their agencies and subdivisions. Unfortunately it has to be noted that this situation of lack of supervision made possible regular incidents and violations of legality. Let me remind you that during the 19 August incident the number of people under escort was 50 percent greater than the permissible maximum. The composition and weaponry of the detail did not match regulation requirements. The criminals were not searched before landing and their belongings were not inspected. Nobody from the leadership had briefed the detail, and there was no supervision of their actions.... So there you have it—the conditions for an exceptionally easy seizure of a Tu-154.

"It has to be admitted today that, despite increasingly frequent escapes by people under guard, USSR MVD main administrations have not taken serious measures to prevent them.

"The collegium made an assessment of the situation that has developed. The relevant agencies have been instructed to investigate without delay the organization of the housing, guarding, and escorting of people who have been detained and arrested. A USSR MVD order deems it impossible to continue to employ V. Balduyev in the post of Yakut minister of internal affairs. The

RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] MVD has been instructed to submit a corresponding proposal to the autonomous republic's supreme soviet. Yu. Matsapura, chief of the ASSR MVD Public Order Protection Department, has been dismissed from the internal affairs organs, and Yakut Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs F. Donskoy has been relieved of his post. The leadership of the Russian militia has also been instructed to adopt stringent measures against other officials in the Yakut MVD and the Neryungra City Internal Affairs Department.

Burlatskiy Comments on Citizenship Decree

90UN2698B Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 34, 22 Aug 90 p 1

[Article by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Editor in Chief Fedor Burlatskiy: "A Guarantee of Freedom"]

[Text] The calf butted the oak. The immense bulk of the state and man—alone, terrified, and oppressed by its iron fist. But times are changing. And here we read the ukase of the president of the USSR to restore citizenship to 23 people (and several more before that—out of 175), including the writers Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Vasiliy Aksenov, Georgiy Vladimov, Vladimir Voynovich, Lev Kopelev, Irina Ratushinskaya, and posthumously—Raisa Orlova (Kopeleva) and Valeriy Tarsis.... They are different people but they had the same fate—dissidents. In the homeland they were called "renegades." A separate slice from our culture. But they never left our awareness and with the first signs of glasnost they returned to the pages of the press.

We should first of all give M.S. Gorbachev his due. Step by step overcoming prejudice and resistance coming from various directions he is pushing back the limits of our human freedom. Another pillar of the authoritarian power is now coming down. For decades it has been drummed into our heads: A person who goes abroad betrays the homeland. And hundreds of thousands of people—Russians, Ukrainians, Armenians, Jews, Latvians, Lithuanians...—who have continued abroad to nostalgically love the homeland were rejected by the state and deprived of the right to citizenship which they received by birth and which belongs to them irrevocably.

Especially monstrous was the vile custom begun in the twenties which was borrowed from the Middle Ages—driving disobedient and freedom-loving citizens out of the country by force. So many of them have been buried on the outskirts of Paris or in New York, Berlin, or Prague!... The graves of Viktor Nekrasov, Aleksandr Galich, Andrey Tarkovskiy...—now when we are abroad we come to pay homage to their remains and remove at least a small portion of the blame that lies with all of us.... When will we finally become a civilized country in which each person may live where he wishes and serve the gods in whom he believes and enjoy the protection of the state he maintains? There continue to be wavering and bureaucratic games concerning the Law on Exit and Entry to the USSR. They are afraid of a "brain drain." And the people who are afraid are the very same ones who expelled the best "brains" from the country. But when we actually gain our freedom we will have the same kind of exchange of "brainpower" that exists in all civilized countries. The communicating vessels of the world community.

The LITERATURNAYA GAZETA collective received the news about the return of citizenship to Aleksandr Isayevich Solzhenitsyn with special feeling. Four months ago we sent an appeal to the president of the USSR. Our request was for all exiles without any preliminary conditions, but above all—Solzhenitsyn. This is because Solzhenitsyn is not only a great Russian writer, and not only the person who discovered the terrible land of the Gulag Archipelago. Solzhenitsyn is a symbol of the age we have experienced. History selects certain people through whom it leaves the imprint of its main landmarks. Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev—each of them has been reflected through Solzhenitsyn. Stalin knew nothing of the young captain, but the Stalinist system, imbued with an unerring animalistic sixth sense, tore Solzhenitsyn out of the society and threw him behind bars. Khrushchev elevated himself as the one who overthrew the cult of Stalin when he allowed "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich" to be published in spite of the opinions of his advisers. Brezhnev began the destruction of the reform movement in the country with the campaign against Solzhenitsyn and settled into stagnation when he exiled him from the country. Solzhenitsyn's return to our literature during Gorbachev's time marked a true victory of glasnost. And now his citizenship is also being returned.

But I would not be candid if I did not mention this. It took five years to accomplish an act of elementary justice. A whole five years for something which should have taken no more than five days. The reason that is given has to do with official practice: Each individual case must be examined. This is an absolutely incorrect approach. It is necessary to examine the principle. And the common human principle is well known: The state does not have the right to take away citizenship against the will of the citizen himself. We recognize this principle, but they continue to drag things out.... Who and why? Because the people responsible for all this indecent behavior still have power. Some of them have still held on in the structures of the apparatus and have secretly, skillfully resisted the democratic process. They are waiting for their time in the hope that the civil conflicts will make their work as executioners necessary again. As long as these people exert any influence at all there is no guarantee of legality or law and order in the country. And another thing: As has become known, Solzhenitsyn's representative in Moscow, Vadim Borisov, has stated on his behalf that until the disgraceful accusation of being a traitor to the homeland is lifted from Solzhenitsyn, and until the inadmissibility of the application of such a measure as exile from the country is directly and openly stated, he will consider that the ukase on restoration of citizenship does not apply to him.

This demand is fair. The state is not granting mercy with its ukase; it is recognizing its mistake, its crime against a citizen whose life it has broken. Such an admission is important and not just for Solzhenitsyn. It is necessary to have reliable guarantees—legal and moral—that nobody will ever be forced to leave Russia or the Soviet Union or any of the republics, and that no one will ever be deprived of his citizenship. We need guarantees of freedom of movement both inside and outside the country. We need friendly relations with our compatriots, regardless of where they may live—in America, in Europe, or in Israel. In a word, we need a new policy and way of life for people in a democratic state. And if it is allowed to give personal advice: Why not do what was done with Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov? One call and a hand was extended across the ocean, across the ocean of unwarranted suffering and bitter offenses against three generations of intelligentsia.

And the last thing: Will the time soon come for Josef Brodskiy, Naum Korzhavin, and other writers and figures in culture and science who were illegally persecuted by the state?

Writers View Restored Citizenship

90UN2698A Moscow TRUD in Russian 18 Aug 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Soviet writers V. Aksenov and V. Voynovich by TRUD correspondent V. Sisnev in Washington; date not given: "Better Late..."]

[Text] It was neither from the newspapers nor television that I found out about the abolition of the ukases concerning the deprivation of the Soviet citizenship of writers and other cultural figures who were categorized during the Brezhnev years as dissidents and almost as traitors to the homeland. I found out from Maya Aksenova, the wife and best friend in exile of the author of "Colleague," "A Ticket to the Stars," "Surplus Barrels," and "Oranges from Morocco," which were read and played a large role in the formation of my generation. It was not yet 0800 when she called and gave me the news.

Having shouted into the mouthpiece my congratulations to her and Vasiliy, I said that we must meet immediately and let him tell TRUD readers how he feels about the event, but it was he who recalled that the only prize for literature he received in the homeland was from our newspaper. Aksenov received it for the story "Stopover in Saigon" at the beginning of the 1970's—which was not the best time for him. But Maya calmed me down, saying that nothing was known for sure yet, the ukase was cast in general terms, and it might pertain to Vasiliy or it might not. To this she added that she had managed to telephone Baltimore where Vladimir Voynovich is now living and that he too is in a state of uncertainty. Voynovich is also a TRUD prize winner—for the story "Master" which was printed in 1971. And this is also his only literary prize granted in the USSR.

The uncertainty ended on the morning of 16 August: A clarification came from TASS, and although it was incomplete it did contain the names Aksenov and Voynovich. I asked both of them the same three questions:

Under what circumstances did you find out that your Soviet citizenship had been taken away?

How did you receive the president's current ukase?

How are creative affairs in Moscow?

I do not think it is possible to speak for these two noteworthy writers and therefore I shall turn the floor over to them:

[Voynovich] One time I received a telephone call from the radio station "Liberty"—I was living in Munich—and they "gladdened" me: You are no longer a citizen of the USSR. I must say that I had been greatly offended by the Soviet press organs in various ways, but I had never experienced a greater offense than this. I had expected to be deprived of my citizenship; that was nothing unexpected for me. But I myself did not anticipate how hard I would take it. When I was told I simply felt terribly offended. And right then I wrote a letter to Brezhnev. It flowed out into a notebook I had at hand. Here is what it said:

"Mr. Brezhnev! You have given my activity an undeservedly high evaluation. I did not undermine the prestige of the Soviet state—thanks to the efforts of its leadership and to your own personal contribution, it has no prestige. Therefore out of fairness you should deprive yourself of your own citizenship. I do not accept your ukase and regard it as nothing more than an obscure scrap of paper. It is illegal and actually I am as much of a Russian writer and citizen as I have ever been and shall remain so until I die and even afterward. Being a moderate optimist, I have no doubt that in the near future ukases depriving our poor homeland of its cultural property will be overturned. My optimism, however, is not sufficient to believe in an equally speedy elimination of the paper shortage. And each of my readers will have to sell 20 kilograms of your essays for scrap paper in order to obtain a coupon for one book about the soldier Chonkin. Vladimir Voynovich. 17 June 1981. Munich."

As you can see, first I was right about Brezhnev's books and now about the ukases as well. I think the current ukase is late in coming but still it is a step toward the restoration of justice and therefore I approve of it. And as for its concrete consequences, not everything is clear here. Many people are already asking me whether I intend to return and when, but I can give no answer to that question. I shall return if realistic conditions are created for my return.

With respect to the Moscow publications the situation is as follows: "Yunost" is already printing the second part of "Chonkin." The "Vsya Moskva" publishing house has published a collection entitled "I Want to Be Honest"—first in an edition of 50,000, but the second edition will be 500,000. The same publishing house will publish the novel "Moscow-2042." "Chonkin" will be published by

"Knizhnaya Palata"—both parts in one volume. A film entitled "The Cap" has been made from my story and I went to Moscow for the premier. There are many presentations based on this same "The Cap" and also "Chonkin." You know about the work I am doing now: I am writing a third "Chonkin" book, but it does not have a name yet...

[Aksenov] In January 1981 Maya and I moved from Michigan to California in our first American car. At that time I was invited to the University at Los Angeles. On that day we had left the city of Yuma in the morning and entered the California desert. The highway there is absolutely straight and I inadvertently started speeding. I was stopped by the highway patrol. And I thought: Well, now it begins. I had already experienced Soviet rights.... But nothing special happened, he simply gave me a ticket. I remember that for some reason I lied to him and told him that there was no speed limit in the Soviet Union, to which he indignantly responded: "You are not in the Soviet Union now, sir, but in California." And then I thought: Bad things usually come in pairs; just wait and something will happen before all this is over. And as soon as we entered the building in Los Angeles where people were waiting for us, the owner, Professor Dean Worth, said: "Did you know that you have been deprived of your Soviet citizenship. Journalists have been calling all day looking for you."

I immediately called my old friend Greg Whitney from THE NEW YORK TIMES who told me that the ukase, as it turns out, had been signed as early as November. This too seemed like some kind of strange joke. He said: "What do you have to say?" And I answered: "To hell with all of them!" For some reason he started laughing and he quoted me as saying that the next day in THE NEW YORK TIMES.

When the noise died down in the house the guests went their separate ways—there had been a welcome party for us—and I went out alone and walked the streets. And suddenly I was gripped by a terrible bitterness. I thought: What right do they have to deprive me of my homeland, of my past, of the possibility of visiting the graves of people who are dear to me, of seeing my friends and relatives?! What kind of disaster, what kind of evil spirit has gripped and paralyzed us all!

For several years in all of the exit questionnaires in various countries in the column for "nationality" I said "without a country." I was in no hurry to obtain American citizenship, and not because I was waiting for the triumph of justice (I was not expecting that) but simply because of my own bungling. And I did not become an American citizen until last year. That was the way things went until the beginning of glasnost. Glasnost penetrated deeper, and it was even deeper for me because no later than 1988 I had unexpectedly become the target of an absolutely Stalinist style of campaign which was unleashed against me in the magazine KROKODIL. And for seven months unthinkable filth was heaped upon me in so-called letters from workers. Then they began to print my work and others' in Moscow. And we "homeless wanderers" and immigrants would get together and try to guess: What is going on? They were printing us and we were still apparently even greater enemies of the state than common criminals because being deprived of one's homeland is considered to be a higher measure of punishment than execution. We decided not to ask for pardons; it was not we but they who had degraded and insulted us. But it turned out that they were expecting something like that. This dragged on until yesterday—that happy day.

I must tell you that I was very glad to get this news, but not especially excited because something like this had been in the air. It gave me a considerable amount of hope. Last year for the first time after nine and a half years I went to the Soviet Union. I wanted very much to go, but I decided that I would not even ask for a visa from this state which up until now had formally considered me an enemy. I went at the invitation of American Ambassador Jack Matlock. Now these barriers have fallen away and I will spend as much time as possible in the Soviet Union in order to be closer to the readers and, as it were, closer to my characters. In general this decision opens up many possibilities for me, and at the same time it creates certain difficulties.

It is not so simple to up and sever all the ties that bind a person to a country, the more so since neither the United States nor the USSR recognize dual citizenship. I have ended up living here for 10 years already, I am teaching in a university, and I have many obligations, including financial ones. This country has not become my homeland, but it has become my home. But I am getting older and close to retirement and I can quite realistically imagine myself in some part of Russia as an aging writer peacefully sitting on the porch with an American pipe in his mouth.

As concerns the Moscow publications, I must admit that even two years ago I could not have imagined that practically all of my books would be published in my homeland. In the autumn at least four of my books will be published in Moscow. "The Blight," which I would say was the bugbear of a whole generation of Soviet literary bureaucrats, will suddenly come out in small cuts classified not at all as politics but only as erotic literature. "The Island of the Crimea" has already been published by "Yunost" and will come out in a separate book. Collections of my stories will be published, there is a proposal to produce films, and so forth. Oleg Tabakov has his hands full. I could not have imagined all this even in my wildest dreams. Well, and then there is the last thing—my current work. I am writing a trilogy with the temporary title of "Moscow Saga." And in general I can tell you that I am quite aware that my readers are in Russia and not in America.

Aytmatov, Tatarchuk on Culture, Banking Issues

LD2808194190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent L. Khatayevich] Chingiz Aytmatov is a member of the Presidential Council and chairman of a commission. His colleague deputies today discussed measures for the development of culture proposed by the government in connection with the transition toward a market economy. [passage omitted]

[Aytmatov] At the moment I don't see that the government could precisely and clearly imagine what lies ahead, how culture should be developed, how it can be improved, and how it can be protected. That's what it's all about.

[Khatayevich] About the USSR State Bank, about banks and banking matters - two draft bills proposed by the government. Today they are being discussed in the Commission for Industry.

[V.I. Tatarchuk, member of the commission] The proposed draft bill is completely unacceptable from the viewpoint of its monopolist, absolutely centralized nature. It's unthinkable in terms of a market economy. The bank's dependance, first and foremost, on the government, the dependance of commercial banks on the USSR State Bank. It's the commission's general view that the conceptual bill is unacceptable and should be sent back to the government for reworking. [video shows commissions at work, and interviews]

Readers Voice Concern Over 'Paralysis of Power'

PM2808101190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 90 Second Edition pp 1, 6

["What They Are Talking About" article by Ivan Podsvirov: "When Will We Show Authority?"—in first edition article is entitled: "Dyarchy Or Anarchy?"]

[Text] That is a question readers are increasingly asking—in letters, telegrams, and telephone calls. The process of separating the functions of party, soviet, and economic organs has turned out to be more difficult and more of a trial than we thought at the initial stage of perestroyka. There were many things we did not anticipate, there were many things we did not have the courage to abandon promptly—and the economy, politics, and the sphere of interethnic and human relations were dominated by negative trends.

I will try to give a brief summary of the general criticism that has appeared in our mail:

"Can you tell me what party has voluntarily ceded authority, where, in what country? Yet the CPSU has not only ceded it, but is continuing to surrender position after position."

"We had very much hoped that the soviets, on taking authority out of the party's hands, would get really, properly down to business. But this has not happened. Many deputies, including Union republican and USSR people's deputies, have simply not cooled down after the election battles. They continue to make acutely inflammatory speeches and are not really doing any organizational spadework. Because of the out-and-out politicking, the shelves are empty, the harvest is rotting in the fields, blood is being spilled in the Transcaucasus and other regions, crime is on the increase everywhere, and state and labor discipline is in tatters...."

"Where is our good old Soviet power; why is it doing nothing? Do we have dyarchy here or anarchy?!"

"Yes, the party is guilty of many things. Yes, it was in sole charge, but there was order and goods were available. What now? There are rallies and demonstrations every day and all manner of resolutions from Supreme Soviets. The old intolerance is being replaced by harsh democratic intolerance, verging on hostility. This is pluralism and the multiparty system, is it?"

Let us not accuse the authors of being too quick-tempered or of being wrong in some of their judgments. It is better to look at the crux of the matter. People are truly sick of the uncertainty, the confusion of the transitional period. They miss real work and want to live and work industriously and quietly. Everyone, that is. Irrespective of nationality, occupation, official position. Moreover, people are beginning to realize that neither USSR President M.S. Gorbachev, nor RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Chairman B.N. Yeltsin can solve all the problems that have accumulated. Of course, the party and state leaders can do a great deal. But not everything. The people have to establish a proper life for themselves. Everyone working together.

Therefore what is needed is not confrontation between the CPSU and the soviets, public movements, and new parties and "platforms," but a sensible compromise, a quest for mutually acceptable approaches. "There is an unprecedented harvest," V. Malyutin writes from Orenburg. "Who is going to bring it in? And this is not a question! Since it could perish, everyone is obliged to take an interest. Until we get the economy sorted out, we will not switch to market relations and will not separate functions of power.... There are some firebrands who say: It's diktat again, party interference again."

Dyarchy or anarchy, readers stress, are inevitable at a time of abrupt social change. The main thing is to overcome the crisis as soon as possible. Shifting the responsibility to someone else, remembering bitter grudges—what could be worse in today's explosive situation?

I read an agonizing letter from I. Arkhipochkin, first secretary of Spas-Klepikovskiy CPSU Raykom [Rayon Committee] in Ryazan Oblast: "Rural raykom secretaries, mainly young people, took on these jobs during the perestroyka period. But it is they who are having to face the criticism. Yesterday's timeservers, who made a public, political, and academic career out of their party card, and the apparatchiks, who bossed the ideological sphere for decades—in short, all those who brought about the downfall of the country and its economy—are they all progressives and democrats now? And we the conservatives, representatives of the 'administrative-edict system'?"

It would be a good thing to learn to listen to one another. Understand something about the "conservatives" and the "radical democrats," who struggled through the stagnation years. And together fathom the vital needs of working people, the "mob," which, depending on the mood, alternates "Down with the right!" with "Down with the left!" With that in mind, I urge you to appreciate the anger of mechanic M. Mordvintsev, who once discovered some financial offenses at the kolkhoz [collective farm] imeni Zhdanov in Moscow Oblast. Mikhail Ivanovich hoped that the overhauled Serebryano-Prudskiy Rayon Soviet would help him "establish the truth" and the culprits would be punished. It did not happen. "So where is the authority?" he angrily demands. "Where is real perestroyka?"

Life is asking soviet and party workers many similar pressing questions at the moment. It is strident and insistent. It knows no intradepartmental or interparty barriers. Presumably the "strange paralysis of power" will ultimately result in honest democratic cooperation in the establishment of discipline and law and order. Indeed, enough of this dubious game of tug-of-war. Enough of this business of trying to take the whole blanket.

Conference Views Problems of Kurds in USSR

PM2808135390 Moscow NOVOYE VREMYA in Russian No 33, 10 Aug 90 p 34

[Article by Marina Shakina: "Password 'Autonomy'"]

[Text] Can Soviet Kurds hope for the restoration of "Red Kurdistan" and will Moscow become an ally of the Kurdish national liberation movement?

The time has finally come to make it publicly known that there are Kurds living in our country. This will not come as news to some, but for many the name of this people is meaningless: There are more than 100 different nations and ethnic groups living in the Soviet Union and the Kurds are just one of them. According to the latest census, there are 153,000 of them, but Kurdish experts claim that this is at least two or three times lower than the real figure.

The scientific and practical conference "Kurds in the USSR: History and the Present" mainly drew the attention of our Kurdish experts and Kurds themselves. True, there were other people interested—but more about them below. For Soviet Kurds the Moscow meeting was a national congress; for the guests it was a continuation of the international conference on Kurds held in Paris last October.

The discussion revolved around the same old universal problems: the consequences of Stalin's deportations, the impossibility of obtaining an education in one's native language, the erosion of culture, disregard for traditions, discrimination, and lack of provision for refugees.... And, of course, the obligatory demand for autonomy. "Autonomy" is now simply a password allowing one to make contact with representatives of any Soviet people. The demand is absolutely legitimate and, in my view, equally unlikely to be realized with the situation as it now stands.

The historical homeland of the Kurds is Kurdistan, a mountainous region in western Asia lying in the upper reaches of the Tigris Rvier. Today this territory is divided between Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. Kurds migrated to Russia in the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century—emigrants from Turkey and Iran. They settled in the Transcaucasus region. A Kurdistan district was formed in Azerbaijan in 1923—so-called "Red Kurdistan"—but it ceased to exist in 1930. Some Kurds were forcibly driven from their homes in the thirties, which is why they now live in Kazakhstan and the Central Asian republics as well as in Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Georgia.

The informed reader will understand all this without any superfluous explanations. Like all repressed peoples, Soviet Kurds do not feel that they have been fully rehabilitated. They are scattered across several republics which in recent years have become areas of interethnic conflict, and this signifies the prospect of their becoming "outsiders" whose presence is undesirable. There are already Kurdish refugees.

Asked whether foreign Kurds would help their fellow Soviet Kurds, one of the foreign guests at the conference said: "I do not know who should help whom."

Now it is time to discuss something else about which Soviet people are poorly informed: the Kurdish national movement abroad. After all, it is perhaps no less well-known in the world than the Palestinian movement. In none of the countries between which the territory of Kurdistan is now divided do the Kurds enjoy national rights as a separate, distinctive people with their own language, culture, and traditions. There is a Kurdish autonomous region in Iraq but the Kurds feel that this autonomy is insufficient. They are fighting for their national rights—and they are armed. In our country it used not to be customary to discuss the Kurds' relations with the state authorities in these four Asian countries or the "Kurdish" policy of the Turkish, Iranian, Iraqi, and Syrian Governments. Our relations with these states are either very friendly or very complicated and so "hyping" the Kurdish problem was obviously seen as tactlessness or an unnecessary risk. Echoes of the Kurdish movement reached us in the form of the "Kurdish connection" in the murder of Olof Palme, causing massive bewilderment: Few people had heard of this movement or Kurdish terrorism.... Many social and political organizations in Europe and the rest of the world are sympathetic toward the Kurds' struggle—one could mention the Socialist International in particular.

That is why there were so many guests at the conference: the leaders of Kurdish national political parties from Iraq, Iran, Turkey, and Syria and representatives of the Kurdish centers in Paris and Stockholm. They are the interested parties I mentioned at the beginning. Their willingness to take part in this event—fairly modest by Soviet standards—not only shows their natural interest in their fellow Soviet Kurds. This willingness also indicates that the event was for them a very promising sign of change. Naturally, the leaders of Kurds abroad are hoping that now the Soviet Union will not be able to stand aloof from the problems of the Kurdish national liberation movement in Kurdistan. In this respect, they do not conceal their hopes that, despite all the difficulties being experienced by our country, its interethnic conflicts, and economic crisis, Russia will remain a great power whose word carries a great deal of weight in the international arena.

Time will tell how justified these hopes are. Is our Foreign Ministry ready for this turn of events? One thing, perhaps, is clear: It is going to become increasingly difficult with every passing day to "contain" the problem of the Kurdish national liberation movement in Kurdistan.

Interior Ministry Releases Emigration Data

LD2808161390 Moscow TASS in English 1531 GMT 28 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov]

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—Of the 816,000 Soviet citizens who left the country for permanent residence elsewhere since the Second World War, 344,000 left in 1988 and 1989, head of the Interior Ministry's visa and permit office Rudolf Kuznetsov told a briefing here today.

He said that during the first seven months of this year exit permits were issued to 234,000 Soviet citizens wishing to live in other countries, 2.2 times more than during the same period last year.

Most people go to Israel—132,400, West Germany—73,400, Greece—16,800 and the United States—5,300. Only 0.2 per cent of all applications were turned down.

The visa and permit office head said that 2.5 milion people travelled from the USSR to other countries on private business in 1989.

According to Rudolf Kuznetsov, seven to eight million Soivet people are expected to enter and leave the country within the first year after a new bill on cross-border travel becomes law.

In connection with changes in the procedure of issuing foreign passports, it has been proposed to the USSR Finance Ministry and the USSR Vneshekonombank [Bank for Foreign Economic Activity] to revise rates for the issue of foreign travel papers and to introduce foreign currency account books for citizens leaving the country.

Kuznetsov complained that the office is short of foreign passport blank forms. Soviet Goznak [Main Administration for Production of State Medals, Coins, and Orders] enterprises can supply only one-fifth of the required number of blank forms. The state will have to allocate another ten million foreign currency roubles to solve the problem.

Other foreign travel-related issues awaiting solution include guaranteed currency exchange, the provision of international transport services by various means of transportation, the improvement and expansion of border check-points and the introduction of a uniform foreign travel passport.

Foreign Policy Documents Now Accessible

LD2808190790 Moscow TASS in English 1816 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—Many documents relating to the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and Russian formerly held behind closed doors in the Foreign Ministry Archives have been made accessible to researchers and specialists by the government decision of August 10, 1990.

Head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's diplomatic history department Felix Kovalev said in an interview with the PRAVITELSTVENNY VESTNIK weekly, all restrictions have been lifted to make 630,000 Russian foreign policy documents which were held in the archives since 1721 when Peter the Great set up a foreign affairs collegium.

As for the Soviet foreign policy archives comprising 1,300,000 items, researchers will be granted access to documents dating back two years unless they contain confidential or classified information, Kovalev sid. He added that 400,000 documents come under this heading.

The government resolution establishes that the veil of secrecy will be lifted after the expiry of a thirty-year period on all documents relating to the country's foreign policy with the exception of those that concern the state's major interests and those which could endanger the rights and basic freedoms of the individual if made public.

For instance, no access will be granted to documents revealing mobilization plans, some parts of which are naturally renewed while many others remain unchanged.

"We cannot afford disclosing the forms and methods of Soviet intelligence and counter-intelligence work," the Foreign Ministry official said. There are few documents of this kind in the Foreign Ministry archives, but they should not be left unprotected.

Other specific materials that will not be disclosed even after thirty years pass are connected with the diplomatic secret concept.

Only two to three per cent of the classified files dating from 1917 to 1960 will remain closed. The Soviet Foreign Ministry will regularly review the list of temporary closed documents to decide on access to them.

Comparison of Decree on Academy of Sciences

PM2808103990

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 24 August 1990 carries in its Second Edition on page 3 a "USSR President's Decree on the Status of the USSR Academy of Sciences." The PRAVDA item has been compared with the translation of the Moscow Domestic Russian version published ih the 24 August 1990 edition of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on pages 36-37, revealing the following variation:

Page 37, column one, seventh complete paragraph, only sentence in PRAVDA reads: ...research and for approving a statute on it;

An increase in the state budget appropriations for... (rewording, substituting "state" for "soviet")

Economic

Work Continues on Market Economy Program

PM2808144490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by M. Berger: "When Life Is at Odds With the Concept"]

[Text] A few days ago, a meeting with journalists took place at the "Sosny" recreation home near Moscow where work on the government program for the transition to the market system is in progress. Participating in the meeting were N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Yu.D. Maslyukov, chairman of the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee]; L.I. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.S. Pavlov, USSR Minister of Finance; and L.B. Vid, deputy chairman of the Gosplan.

The working group at "Sosny," which is formulating the government program for assimilating the market system, has a sufficiently clear idea of what it has to produce by September and in what volume: an action plan of approximately 250 pages; 118 documents consisting of 18 draft laws as well as draft USSR Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers resolutions; directives and methodology on how to calculate the value of housing, for example, or how to create joint-stock companies; analytical notes and calculations; and forecast estimates. Apart from government specialists and people who have been enlisted for this work, several computing centers are linked up....

The scale of work on the program and the dimensions of intellectual investments in it are impressive. The question now is what impression its results will make on our legislators.

What new elements have appeared in it compared with the version that was not adopted at the last Supreme Soviet session? Academician L.I. Abalkin drew attention to the following. The question of destatization, originally only mentioned briefly in the program, is now examined in more detail. The concept of social protection of the population during the transition to a regulated market economy has been prepared—it was published in IZVESTIYA No. 221. There have also been changes in approaches to prices; they will not be increased for vodka or utilities, as was earlier proposed. In the light of the fact that it is impossible to go into the market without any effect on prices, those working on the draft settled for the option of a one-shot increase with the introduction of a compensation system. It is proposed to radically democratize the pricing system with the center retaining control of only a narrow group of prices. They defined their position regarding monetary reform—this question simply is not on the agenda, and at the same time measures to protect the population's savings are planned.

It is inconceivable even to indicate in a few paragraphs what it is proposed to expound in 250 pages, and then also in methodologies and analytical notes. But it is possible to talk about positions of principle since these positions have been formulated and are expressed quite definitively.

"The basis of our concept and the program that is being drafted," N.I. Ryzhkov said at the meeting, "is a united Soviet Union. That is the main thing. Goods producers must have freedom throughout the Soviet Union's territory; this economic field is precisely what must unite us. But we can see that today other trends are developing and saying to us: This is the Ukrainian market, this is the Estonian market.... All this requires the introduction of customs control or some sort of other restrictions. This in no way coincides with our position. If everything is broken up into 15 republic markets, not to mention the 16 autonomous republics, the program that we are making is no use. But this principle—a Union state—is what we take as our foundation."

True, real life does not always take account of the positions of individuals or even of whole governments. And if reality does not coincide with this or that conception, what can you do about reality? Hold your ground and try to influence it? Or change something, after all, in your own approach?

Nikolay Ivanovich talked about the change in the political situation in the country and said that last December it was a different country, and the government prepared the program in a different political atmosphere for a different country, and if we did not introduce any kind of changes we would be shortsighted politicians.

The country and the political situation in it are indeed changing rapidly not only in the space of months but even in weeks. However, those working on drafting the government program, while saying that much has changed, insist at the same time that there is no new program at all; it is an amplification and expansion of the previous one. L.I. Abalkin says that the program being drafted will take account of the real political changes that have occurred in our country, including a number of declarations of sovereignty, but immediately adds that we profess the idea of a united Union market.

But in effect this no longer exists—a united Union market. And you can talk all you like about commitment to the idea of the Union as a united economic organ, but the reality is that individual parts of this organism aspire to increasing independence of the "whole," to the right to establish their own rules and procedures for functioning.

A representative from Latvia worked for a short time with the "Sosny" group and went away, leaving a memorandum. It says in part that in order to conclude a treaty on mutual economic relations it is necessary to resolve the question of demarcation of items of property: which enterprises are the republic's property, which ones operate with the status of joint enterprises, and which ones receive the status of foreign enterprises. One may or may not agree with Latvia's proposal that Union property on its territory be considered foreign capital, but to talk about a single Union market and state after receiving such a memorandum is to be under the influence of a romantic vision of the development of events. This is not a very good basis for elaborating a program of transition to market relations.

Of course the disintegration that besets us is not the most inspiring process and is directly contrary to what is happening, for example, in Western Europe which is uniting. But nevertheless it is going on and makes it impossible to adopt decisions from the standpoint of a united, immutable, unitary state. However this kind of decision continues to appear both in current economic management practice and in program approaches.

It is too late now to say that republics must be given economic autonomy, as we heard at "Sosny." Now republics are not asking permission but are taking this autonomy, declaring their sovereign rights. There is no doubt that the common economy of West European countries, free from customs barriers and restrictions, will only gain from unification; but that is not an argument in our case. There the process is based on the desire to unite markets, here we have attempts to break out of an administrative barracks, even if this means suffering some losses. What is happening here is something like punishment for our "nonmarket," for the barter-distribution relations in the economy which constantly fuel everyone's sense of unfair distribution. The absence of objective market criteria makes everyone suspicious of everyone else. It seems to a given republic or oblast that its neighbors produce less and demand more at others' expense, that residents of a region that works badly come to one that works well and take away goods. These suspicions can only be allayed or confirmed by a market with its prices which are not under the jurisdiction of pricing committees. And if there is no market but there is suspicion, then customs posts and other restrictions between Union republics spring up.

Things are difficult for the Union government in all respects. It is a matter of days before the session for which the program must be produced, and apart from conceptual problems current problems that cannot be put off bear down from every quarter. How can the record harvest be brought in, where is the foreign currency for essential purchases—every third bottle of vegetable oil and every third kilogram of sugar is imported—to be found? What is to be done when this time last year enterprises had concluded around 40 percent of contracts, while now the figure is a little over 11 percent?

In this nervous atmosphere the government also shows nervousness and frequently adopts decisions leading us away from the market, or issues resolutions which are later hastily revoked without having achieved their expected aim. The result: only annoyance with the government. Sometimes you get the feeling that if some crazy plan existed aimed at causing the government to quarrel with the people, then certain decisions fit in with it perfectly. Look no further, for example, than the intention to begin the transition to the market with a rise in bread prices, or the sudden closure of borders at the height of the holiday season.

In these conditions it is not easy to study global concepts or prepare the country for market relations. It must be said that in recent years the government—despite miscalculations, mistakes, digressions, and vacillations—has done a considerable amount to create a "premarket atmosphere" and has prepared the ground for more radical transformations. Let me remark, incidentally, that it was none other than N.I. Ryzhkov who was the first of our leaders to use the word "competitiveness" [konkurentsiya] in official reports and speeches as applied to the domestic economy without any qualifying adjectives, gradually substituting it for the word [socialist] "competition" [sorevnovaniye]. In the face of the old-style Supreme Soviet this cannot have been easy.

Perhaps in calmer and more favorable conditions we would have grown into a market system just as gradually, over a period of years, substituting one word for another and one law for another. But today society has every reason to show impatience—we are lagging too far behind what we ourselves call civilized countries and have gotten too tired of the burdens of our disorganized way of life.

We are not losing optimism, Yu.D. Maslyukov remarked at the "Sosny" meeting. It is up to the Supreme Soviet to adopt or not adopt the program, N.I. Ryzhkov said on this point, but we will fight for it because we believe in it.

The fact that the government is convinced of the unshakability of the basic directives of the program it is drafting is evident from the mere fact that resolutions developing or reinforcing the program's various ideas and guidelines are issued virtually daily. That is, the feeling arises that nothing is happening for those working on the program, and that an increasingly large discrepancy between life and the concept will not entail any significant consequences for the concept. Perhaps the hope is that life will give ground in some way? So far there seems to be no reason to count on this. And now, when a working group to prepare an agreed concept of the program for transition to a market economy has been set up under the aegis of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev and B. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, such a "starburst of resolutions" seems to be a manifestation either of excessive haste or of self-assurance. It is a matter of the greatest regret that so far coordinated work on a coordinated concept by the new and "old" working groups has not materialized when so many hopes are riding on this.

A few hours after the Moscow evening edition of IZVESTIYA appears with this article, the regular appearance of the USSR Council of Ministers chairman is due to take place on television Channel One. Perhaps it will give grounds for different assessments and conclusions?

Clash of Opinions on Market Economy Viewed

LD2808132790 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Excerpts] A session of the USSR Supreme Soviet begins in less than two weeks on 10th September. The agenda includes a number of complicated problems connected with the country's transition to a market economy. Vyacheslav Solovyev now reviews preparations for the session:

Standing committees and commissions have been discussing the trouble spots of the transitional period: prices, compensation for the low wages, and tax policies. [passage omitted]

Apart from the government's concept of transition to a market economy, the session of the national parliament will also consider alternative drafts presented by various groups of scholars and economists. However, the competition is going to be toughest between the programs of the Union government and the work group formed by agreement between Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin. Experts believe that they cannot be brought together in a mutually acceptable version because each of the drafts is based on drastically different principles. The government is still looking for minor measures and compromises which has in practice only increased disorder in the economy. The presidential group believes that the time for gradual reforms has been wasted and suggests building the groundwork of a market economy within one-and-a-half to two years.

The government's program implies the preservation of the unitarian state; the presidential group proceeds from the understanding that the economic reform will be carried out by sovereign republics and for that reason the main objective is to agree on the missions and powers placed in the hands of the center. That kind of attitude looks rather appealing to many republics. However, the government's program has allies too. It has been supported by a conference of trade union functionaries in Moscow. At the same time, the conference strongly opposed the alternatives suggested by the presidential group. Trade unionists fear that the implementation of the alternative draft may lead to the abolition of socialist property, devastate industries, and cause mass unemployment. Bearing in mind the fact that that option is based on Russia's program for reforms, which in Boris Yeltsin's view will be adopted by Russia's parliament in any case, the future of the government's concept looks even more uncertain.

Unions Hold Conference on Transition to Market

PM2808145990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by unidentified TASS correspondent: "Transition to the Market: The Trade Unions' Position"]

[Text] Only a convincing and realistic concept for extricating the country from the economic crisis, based on high standards of people's social protection, can be backed by Soviet trade unions. This idea was repeatedly voiced at the all-Union trade union aktiv conference on "The Trade Unions' Position Regarding the Transition to Regulated Market Economy," which opened in Moscow 25 August. G. Yanayev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in its work.

The conference participants were briefed on the government program for the introduction of market relations in a report delivered by L. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and on alternative options including the Russian "500 Days" program.

"The time has come to abandon stereotypes and dogmas and to analyze the problems of transition to the market in an unbiased and comprehesive fashion," A. Yakovlev, secretary of the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions], declared in his report. "The trade unions, contrary to divergent opinions, have never been against progress in the economy. Nonetheless, we believe that the market should not be a scarecrow, not a factor which would worsen the population's life, but a powerful lever for overcoming negative trends, improving the state of affairs in the consumer sphere, and serving man's well-being."

It was noted at the conference that it is hard to expect the creation of developed commodity-money relations within a matter of 400 or 500 days given the conditions of imbalance in the country's economy, the exacerbated interethnic relations, the total absence of a market infrastructure, and the dominance by monopolies. It is incumbent upon the government to conduct an open and honest conversation with the people about the socioeconomic consequences of the forthcoming reform. If working people will have to make sacrifices—and it is obvious that they are unavoidable in the transition to the market—each and every one must know how much "poorer" he will be and how long this state will last.

Having determined the precise price of transition to the market for specific groups, population strata, and individual regions, it will be necessary to provide reliable shock absorbers against inevitable losses, the speakers emphasized. The development of market relations demands guarantees for the most important social rights of each and every member of society, primarily the right to work and to earn income which would ensure a proper standard and quality of life.

The conference is continuing its work.

Statistics on 1990 Strike Losses Released

LD2808221890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2130 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics has prepared an interesting document. It says that over the seven months of the current year 65,000 people on average were absent from their workplaces daily because of strikes and mass absenteeism. In July, 60 percent of all the losses caused by strikes fell on Kemerovo and Rostov Oblasts and Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] as well as Donetsk, Lugansk, and Dnepropetrovsk Oblasts. The blockade of the Transcaucasian railway on the territory of Georgian SSR caused about 4 million rubles worth of losses.

Baltic Shipping Line To Enter Leasing Agreement

PM2808144590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by special correspondent V. Nevelskiy under the "Response" rubric: "'Baltic Mutiny': Shipping Company Becomes Lease Enterprise"]

[Excerpts] Issue No. 188 of IZVESTIYA has already described how the shipping company struggled for its rights. That struggle has now produced a result. It was announced at a conference with L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Until the final minutes of the conference it was unclear how the debate would end. There were weighty speeches in support of the Baltic shipping company workers. Their opponents also spoke out actively. Things were in the balance until Lev Alekseyevich Voronin summed up. He said that if we continue to mark time, no good will come from even the most radical reforms. "We are creating a special precedent," he stressed, "in giving freedom to a collective numbering many thousands. It must set an example for the whole country."

The document giving the Baltic company's workers the right to switch to leasing has been signed. The government has approved the Baltic workers' proposal. The Ministry of the Maritime Fleet has been instructed to draw up a lease contract in one month. The Baltic Shipping Company is setting out under its own steam now and I asked S.V. Assekritov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission on the conomic reform, to comment on the conclusion to the many months of confrontation.

"This outcome should not be regarded as a victory for some and a defeat for others. I do not want to give the impression that the government made its decision under outside pressure. No, this is a well balanced and considered decision, dictated by the government's general program which it will present to the USSR Supreme Soviet in September. The process of denationalization, with the switch to leasing as an important stage of that [process], is our line which is being implemented persistently and consistently. And it would be wrong to make it seem as though the government has been routed in the struggle with its own steamship company." [passage omitted]

The question which was discussed at the conference is extremely important not only for the shipping company or the ministry; it is important for the country's transport system as a whole.

We have now begun increasingly often to take stock of foreign practice. The latter shows, for example, that there is no state automobile company anywhere. But even in such countries as the United States and Japan, the railroad is virtually 100 percent in state hands. It maintains rates for freight and passenger services as well as provides subsidies. The aviation question is also quite contentious. There are both state-owned civil airlines and airports as well as private airlines in the world. But there is also constant state supervision.

Briefly then, multi-option solutions are needed today. The story of the Baltic Shipping Company gives us an opportunity to find new approaches relating to the transport complex of the national economy.

Agreement Signed on Developing Securities Market

LD2808114490 Moscow TASS in English 1108 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—Over 1,500 joint-stock enterprises will exist in the USSR by the beginning of the next year, the GOVERNMENT HERALD newspaper reports today. They will issue about 18 billion rubles worth of securities.

In response, the USSR Finance Ministry, the USSR Housing and Social Bank (Zhilsotsbank), the All-Union Association of Commercial and Cooperative Banks, and the joint-stock Bank for the Development of the Automotive Industry Autobank have created the joint-stock society Fininvest.

The USSR State Bank, the USSR Finance Ministry, and the Fininvest also signed an agreement to set up a committee to promote the development of a securities market in the USSR.

Government Cuts May End VCR Assembly Project

PM2808135790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Report by Oleg Bobin from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Bobin] We are not at the Ostankino TV Center but at the technical control section of the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Combine. You may be surprised that there are VCR's here. These state-of-the-art VCR's are assembled here, and this section is the test rig. Tell me, what is the quality of the assembly process like?

[Y.A. Pochenayev, deputy shop chief] The quality of assembly is quite good. The reject level is 0.4 percent.

[Bobin] The parts are supplied by the Japanese Funai firm. Why do we not just buy VCR's off the shelf? Would it not be more advantageous? The combine ships its above-plan cast iron in return. Clearly, it is a successful deal. And without detriment to our economy we have gained an opportunity to saturate the market with goods that are in very short supply. It is not just Lipetsk that is assembling the VCR's, another three metallurgical combines are doing the same. And another six enterprises are applying to follow suit. This sector's plants currently handle a lot of state-of-the-art electronic equipment, and consequently many collectives in the sector could deal with the quality assembly of VCR's.

What quantity could you produce?

[R.Ya. Gugnyak, USSR deputy minister of metallurgy] This year we are producing around 100,000-120,000. I think this figure could be doubled without any great effort.

[Bobin] These are possibilities and plans for the future. But what about real life?

[Gugnyak] Next year production could be ended at all the plants currently producing the VCR's. The Council of Ministers permit applies only to 1990.

[Bobin] And who drew up these plans?

[Gugnyak] These plans were drawn up by the Commission for Foreign Economic Relations headed by Comrade Sitaryan. They are currently insisting on maximum hard-currency deductions, and consequently enterprises lose any interest in increasing production.

[Bobin] So in December this initiative by the metallurgists may come to an end, and for many of us VCR's will continue to be an unattainable dream.

Agricultural

State Committee Reports Harvest Work Progress

LD2908093990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 29 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics reports today on the progress of harvest work. By yesterday, 146.2 million tonnes of grain crops had been threshed. Just over 43 million tonnes have been sold to the state, while 85 million tonnes are to be bought from farms—that is, only half of this quantity is currently in state granaries. There is unfortunately a slackening in the pace of grain crops sales to the state, the committee reports; in the first week of August, 6.4 million tonnes were delivered to state elevators, yet last week only 3.5 million tonnes were delivered. The lag is linked, to a substantial degree, with the bad weather.

Agricultural Developments Reported for 23-28 Aug

LD2908051890

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 23-28 August, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parentheses at the end of each item.

23 August

The area of grain threshed in Bashkiriya reached one million hectares this morning. This is approximately 40 percent of the planned total. The harvest is being hampered by rain and insufficient facilities for drying and storing the grain. (0900)

24 August

Correspondent Viktor Glukhovtsev reports in Russian from Kazakhstan for Moscow Television Service "Topical Interview" program, citing local officials. He says bread grain has already been gathered in the Chimkent and Dzhambul Oblasts where four or five quintals more grain than last year was obtained from every hectare. Uralsk and Taldy-Kurgan Oblasts are getting roughly the same increase. A total of 22,500 hectares are given over to grain in the republic. In Alma-Ata Oblast, 3,200 vehicle tires were earmarked from second and third quarter allocations but only 150 were received. Rostselmash and the Krasnoyarsk combine works received orders for 150 combine harvesters for the oblast but only 50 were received, almost all of them without reapers. Not a single one of the almost 1,500 allocated batteries was received by the oblast. The correspondent quotes the

Kazakh State Agro-Industrial Committee as saying the situation in all 19 oblasts is "absolutely comparable." The republic as a whole is short of 14,000 combine harvesters for this year's harvest effort. "Over 20 million hectares of virgin land bread grain remains unharvested, unreaped, and unthreshed," the correspondent notes. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 1525 GMT)

25-27 August

No significant developments reported.

28 August

The harvest of silage crops in Tselinograd Oblast has been abundant this summer. Less than half the sown area has been mowed, but the year's plan of succulent material has been laid in at storage areas. The average yield has risen to 185 quintals per hectare. (0600)

In Kazakhstan the grain area is 22.5 million hectares; to date crops have been harvested and threshed from one-third of this area. (1100)

Steppe farms in North Ossetia have begun harvesting maize. Large areas have been planted with economically advantageous hybrids. Although much of the crop was damaged by natural disasters, a good harvest is expected from the rest. In southern Uzbekistan selected harvesting of cotton has started. An excellent harvest is expected. The procurement price of raw cotton has been raised, and farms can now market one-half their harvest as they think best, which increases their interest. (1300)

Minsk Domestic Service carried the following items on agricultural developments in that republic. Date and broadcast time are noted in parentheses at the end of each item:

Farms in Brest Oblast have delivered nearly 250,000 tons of grain to the grain-receiving points. This comprises two-thirds of the planned amount. The grain deliveries to elevators are increasing in the oblast all the time. By now, the grain crops in the oblast have been cut and threshed on 90 percent of the area sown. From each hectare the farmers gather an average of 35 quintals of grain. The harvest could have been higher had the winter rye not suffered so badly from June frosts. (0515 GMT 17 Aug 90)

Reaping of crops is proceeding at a high pace in Belorussia. To date, the republic's farms have threshed over 6 million tons of grain which amounts to 33.2 quintals per hectare. (0650 GMT 21 Aug 90)

Truck Shortage Hampers Omsk Oblast Harvest

PM2808125990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Report by V. Morozova and S. Dodonov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The height of the harvest is moving from the European regions to the Urals. A good harvest of agricultural produce has been produced in Omsk Oblast. But here, as everywhere, there have been problems with the harvest of vegetable crops. And if the fields have not been harvested or plowed in good time, the reason for the difficulties lies in the relationship with the townspeople who have helped to clear and weed the fields year in year out. The grain conveyor is working more stably, although admittedly it too has been affected by the nationwide shortage of transportation.

[Morozova] Although reaping work in [word indistinct] is proceeding relatively normally, the weather is clement, and there is enough equipment, the pace of threshing work is clearly worrying. The holdups have been caused by trucks. It was decided to supply only 2,700 of the 7,000-odd trucks requested to the countryside. Because of this, half of all rayons—including Krutinskiy Rayon, which we visited—are unhappy with [words indistinct]. Some are clearly in trouble, others like on Sultaimskiy Sovkhoz [State Farm] are harvesting without interruption thanks to their foresight.

The farm director—Mikhail Alekseyevich Arefyev—has great intuition. He acquired this hopper. Is it a good machine?

[Arefyev] Very good. It has done great service during the harvest. We had actually planned to have four trucks in this link—ZIL trucks—but currently we have only got one. Our production is such that we mustn't let the combines stand idle. But the organs have not been able to issue the trucks for the harvest.

[Morozova] OK, but at the same time you are harvesting feed and that system is working?

[Arefyev] Yes, the system is working. We started harvesting silage a week earlier this year. We are harvesting a lot. The transport is in place, the combine harvesters are in place, the people are in place and assigned to their tasks—in other words, the entire system's running smoothly.

[Morozova] This is not the case everywhere, unfortunately, and reflects the fact that the problem of machine operator cadres is not that acute in Omsk Oblast. Farms are mainly able to get by using their own resources.

'Excellent' Potato Harvest Not Reaching Stores

PM2808104590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Report by V. Golubev and G. Slavshchik from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Mass potato harvesting is starting in the country. The harvest is excellent—but will it face the same fate as the grain harvest? Potato growers in certain regions are already unsure of where to sell their produce.

[Reporter] This is the potato sorting and storage complex at the Kashirskiy Agricultural Combine. Produce is brought here from the fields, and it is also returned here from Moscow stores. These early potatoes should reach the capital's stores straight from sorting without being stored. But....

[R.S. Urvacheva, chief of the complex] These are small potatoes, the kind you get from Poland. But why don't people take ours? After all, look at how good the quality is. This year we have stored them all—only two percent went to waste. But getting the potatoes to Moscow is a real problem. We send them there, drivers bring them back. The potatoes have to be loaded and reloaded. And they spoil, we have to load them so much.

[Reporter] So these are new potatoes....

[Urvacheva] Yes, they are new potatoes. Just see how big and good they are. Yet they all get sent back. Even storage centers with which we have contracts refuse to take them. They are not bothered about potatoes, nor are the stores, nor is our Kashira. One truckload was sent and had to unload at four stores.

[Reporter] Does this storage facility help you a bit? Can you....

[Urvacheva] Yes because the ventilation is very good. It is Dutch equipment and the ventilation is very good. And we are already filling it.

[Reporter] What level of wastage did you have in the past?

[Urvacheva] We did have wastage in the past, but then we didn't have the storage facility. We did not store potatoes at all. Only the seed stock went in the old storage facility. They had wastage around the 20 percent mark, to be precise.

[Reporter] I think it would be a good idea nonetheless if you appealed to the Moscow people and said: "Look, you signed a contract; now live up to it."

[Urvacheva] Well, try talking to the storage centers we signed contracts with. We can deliver to any storage center as long as they take our potatoes. There will be a lot of potatoes this year. Anyway, I do not know what we will....

[Reporter] Have not you tried just entering the market and starting to trade?

[Urvacheva] We have. But we can only sell above-plan output; we cannot sell these. It is the fall. We shipped some—just the above-plan output—but as for the rest, we are not entitled to do anything with it. We have got a plan to fulfill.

[Reporter] We are all perfectly well aware just what our plans are worth. Each year tens of thousands of tonnes of planned potatoes and vegetables rot at Moscow's storage centers. Now there is a real chance to transfer these storage facilities to producers on a mutually advantageous basis. And to let them deal completely with their own output. There should be one law—that there be uniform deliveries of potatoes and vegetables to the trading system on the basis of mutual financial responsibility.

Railway Official Outlines Freight Car Problems

PM2808132190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by I. Taburyanskaya, senior editor of the Railways Ministry Press Center: "Grain Not Being Unloaded Because More Advantageous To Pay Fines for Freight Cars Standing Idle"]

[Text] Harvest time is a busy period not only for rural workers but also for railroad workers. After all, grain is the freight which gets priority on the railroads. However alarm signals are coming from the USSR Ministry of Railways that every day 2,000 cars of grain are not being unloaded.

The list of people who are not taking due care of the grain in their care is quite long. For example, the Ministry of Railways operational reports for 22 August said that there were 246 freight cars awaiting unloading at stations in Uzbekistan, while in Turkmenia the figure was 216, in Sverdlovsk Oblast 223, in Khabarovsk and Maritime Krays it was 198 and 176 respectively, in the Udmurt Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic 169, and so forth.

Railroad workers are especially alarmed at the fact that even with the present shortage of rolling stock, these "mobile depots" are standing idle not for days but for weeks. Meanwhile, one-half of the harvest has not been shipped and the daily demand for freight cars stands at a steady 8,000.

For a number of days now 191 freight cars of grain bound for the Glazovskiy mixed feed plant have been awaiting unloading, but people there are in no hurry—only 19 have been unloaded. Since 18 August, 59 freight cars of grain bound for the mixed feed plant have been waiting at the Volosovo station in Leningrad Oblast. For two weeks now 61 grain cars have been standing idle at Borovichi station in Novgorod Oblast, and so it goes on.

But the greatest losses have occurred at the maritime commercial port of Krasnovodsk. Since 14 August, 122 cars of grain have been awaiting unloading there. The port's leadership, citing the absence of ships, has been refusing to transfer the grain to the warehouses and is not releasing the rolling stock. The explanation is simple: It is more advantageous for the railroad workers to pay the fines because at the current rates they are paltry. One freight car standing idle for one day costs at most three rubles. But how much is the grain worth? It is surely necessary not only to think of departmental interests but also to consider the interests of subcontractors and the country as a whole.

This year tobacco products have quite unexpectedly become one of the most important types of freight. The frenzy now gripping the country and causing suffering to many smokers is hard to explain. However, shipments of tobacco and tobacco products are worrying many people. I have news to gladden the hearts of many inhabitants of the capital. There are 28 freight cars laden with tobacco at the Prut border station on the Moldavian railroad today, 21 of them filled with Bulgarian cigarettes. On 23 August, 22 cars were dispatched to Moscow.

Debate Over Food Imports Analyzed

90UF0465A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 17 Aug 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by economist D. Bulatov: "Food Imports—Myth and Reality"]

[Text] Active discussion in the press of food import problems, and in addition touching upon the "kitchen secrets" of our foreign trade department, has elicited a negative reaction from some of its leaders. This is entirely understandable. The question of how to rid ourselves of dangerously increasing grain imports has not been raised at all in the press by those who directly manage the practice of purchasing from abroad and who should be the first to "ring the bell."

The essence of statements in the press by K. Katushev, minister of foreign economic relations, and several other leaders on this question can be reduced to a striving to stress the purely executive role of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations (MVES) in the chain of departments dragging the country into dependence on food imports and to avoid the crucial questions and discuss only specific, direct aspects of grain importing. In this setting its very advisability does not even come into doubt.

In their striving to defend "the honor of the regiment" with respect to their department, these leaders are persistently creating the myth that existing practice conforms to the interests of the USSR economy, including the agro-industrial complex. This concerns the quality of imported products, purchasing tactics, selection of supplier firms, distribution of imports to countries, and a number of other questions including the structure of fodder purchases—although this determination, the minister himself acknowledges, is not the prerogative of the institution under his jurisdiction.

Well, this is what we begin with. Does the purchasing structure actually conform to the maximum extent possible to the interests of our stock-breeding fodder resources, as MVES officials assert? Many experts believe this is not so. The problem of protein shortage dictates the necessity of increasing the percentage of high-albumen content in our fodder purchases. Understandably at present we have little capacity for processing soy. There is nothing, however, to hamper increasing imports of soy meal (flour) which can be added directly to balanced fodder, thus increasing its albumen value.

But, as experts assert, there is no trend toward increasing Soviet purchases of meal. Sporadic leaps were made, in 1987-1988 for example, but on the average its import over the years 1971-1986 constituted less than three percent of all fodder purchases from abroad.

It is also difficult to accept MVES assertions that purchasing soy meal is disadvantageous as compared with ordinary fodder crops, supposedly due to the correlation of world prices. The fact of the matter is that expanding the import of high-albumen additives will lead precisely to economizing in fodder grain purchases. When purchases are in periods of decline, other countries engaged in a restructuring of their stock-breeding fodder resources have expanded their import of meal. Along with efforts to develop their own production, this enabled them to significantly reduce fodder grain purchases. For example, from 1978 through 1986 Spain increased its import of meal by 600,000 tons and Italy by 300,000 tons, reducing at the same time their purchases of fodder grain by 2.2 and 3.7 million tons respectively.

Can it possibly be that our MVES leaders are inclined to explain this through massive commercial miscalculations on the part of these states, or that the demands of the stock-breeding fodder base in Spain and Italy are greater than in the USSR? The Soviet Union's import of fodder grain over this period did not decrease—it only "took off" in certain years from 10 to 27 million tons.

And so have we succeeded in economizing in this manner by reducing purchases of high-albumen resources? Absolutely—from the MVES point of view. But if we examine the final economic effect? According to the USSR State Statistics Committee, the grain expenditure per standard head of cattle over the period of the latest decline in soy meal purchases, 1984-1986, increased from 26.5 to 27.3 centners. There's economizing for you!

As we can see, the problem of optimization of the fodder grain structure is not a fabricated one. With respect to the conclusion arousing MVES indignation regarding irrational investment of billions—in essence, to increase manure production (KOMMUNIST, No. 6, 1989)—this was confirmed rather clearly and convincingly by A. Dusheyko, a competent specialist on the albumen problem (SELSKAYA ZHIZN, 22 Nov 89).

Moreover, this conclusion was not drawn today. Perhaps those who are managing grain purchases from abroad do not know that when nutrients are insufficient—especially protein—the secretion of animal digestive glands is reduced, microbiological processes in the digestive tract are altered, and the digestibility of fodder is decreased. The conclusion which so infuriated MVES leaders is specifically contained in SELSKOKHOZYAYSTVENNYY ENTSIKLOPEDICHESKIY SLOVAR

[Encyclopedic Agricultural Dictionary] (Moscow: Soviet Encyclopedia, 1989, p 383).

Myths as to a satisfactory state of affairs in one sphere or another can exist only when specific information is lacking. Judging from everything, it appears certain MVES representatives understand this fully well when they discuss the practice of grain imports. Such an important issue as quality of production purchased is in essence completely avoided in their statements. In the meantime, it would be interesting to know which supplier countries have the highest quality grain. Do we always buy grain from those states which have the least impurities? Or do things transpire differently?

The question of quality of grain imported into the USSR does not entail just the presence of weeds or insect pests. It is a fact that certain countries use pesticides in their grain production injurious to people's health. Grain produced with the help of harmful chemicals is prohibited from being sold on the domestic market in a number of instances, but no one obstructs its delivery to other countries. Regret must be expressed, in this regard, that we do not manage to hear about how effective is the inspection of imported grain for the presence of harmful chemical substances or degree of radioactivity. Has effective control been established or are the assurances of the supplier concerning the applicable quality parameters accepted on faith?

And is the problem of underloaded grain production, "long since resolved" according to MVES assurances, a fabrication? A session of the USSR People's Control Commission was dedicated to this issue at one time, in which special attention was devoted to mismanagement in delivery operations for food imports, grain in particular.

Yet one other characteristic feature of the myth-making: "successful" refutation of theses it turns out no one has ever put forth, and avoidance of responding to the truly "painful" issues. In his striving to justify existing purchasing tactics, Minister K. Katushev stated "we do not purchase multimillion consignments on a single occasion." But no one has made any such assertions. The advisability of acquiring year after year significant consignments of grain from "certain partners"—one and the same narrow group of major commercial grain companies—is doubtful. Purchasing from them means informing the world market. Doing the utmost to expand the number of suppliers makes it easier to disguise purchases, or at least advertises them less. Of course it is easier to have business dealings with a limited number of companies, but such a system will not result in any special currency savings. Certainly we can switch orientation from one transnational corporation to another (from "Bunge" to "Ferruzzi," for example, or "Finagrain"); a simple change of "favorite" firm, however, will hardly give any appreciable effect.

Leading the conversation away from "traditional" ties with transnational commercial grain corporations, K. Katushev passes over the question as to exactly what quantity of grain is acquired from them and what quantity from other companies—consignments many firms propose of 50,000-100,000 tons are fastidiously considered petty and an insufficient quantity by managers of the "Eksportkhleb" export-import association. Although these data are supposedly not secret, they remain inaccessible in ministry safes.

Who are these "whales" of the grain-trading business—"Louis Dreyfus," "Continental Grain," "Bunge," and others? What do they use to attract MVES? Is it possibly the fact that these monopolies, in accounting for a significant portion of grain exports from the United States and having a trade turnover in the multibillions, are able to offer price discounts in concluding contracts and "make up" for this by virtue of the quality of grain supplied? In any case, it is hardly appropriate to see any philanthropy in such discounts.

The companies mentioned are not joint-stock companies and are not tied down by any need for public accountability; neither is the MVES from all appearances tied to any such obligations in certain particularly delicate questions. The above-mentioned transnational entities comprise private corporations which belong to family clans—Dreyfus, Frieburg, Barney, Hershey, and others. Their representatives use "their own people" in the U.S. Congress to influence adoption of state decisions in the sphere of food policy.

In our journalism, for some reason the term "grain lobby" applies to people who in no way strive to protect the country's agricultural producers. On the contrary, these people are interested in maintaining imports, i.e. essentially in supporting the agricultural business of other countries, chiefly the United States. In this sense, but only in this, they may indeed be categorized as the "grain lobby," or more accurately as an extension of its American variant.

Such involvement did not appear out of nowhere. A significant role in its formulation was played by the system of accounting with Soviet clients for imported grain, defended by Minister Katushev, according to which the grain is accessible to these organizations at the same price as USSR grain. As an example, wheat purchased last year at $180 per ton was accessible to them for approximately the same number of rubles [R].

It is well known that after pronouncement of the decision to conduct currency auctions, purchasers have been offering up to R25-27 for one foreign-currency ruble—i.e., essentially for one dollar. It is not difficult to calculate the level of "import subsidies" for the purchase of grains. It turns out that today the purchase of one ton of grain abroad costs us many times more than from our own country's producers. It was stated at the First Congress of People's Deputies that the monetary effectiveness of importing many categories of goods was 1:10, i.e. for every foreign-currency ruble spent abroad the state receives R10. Against this background then, what is the actual monetary effectiveness of grain purchases effected by the MVES?

The "sore spot" of certain leading officials in the ministry and its associations, from all indications, is business trips abroad. Although "Eksportkhleb" General Director O. Klimov stated that all purchases are effected out of Moscow, K. Katushev is compelled all the same to make the proviso of acknowledgement that delegations of representatives travel out periodically to conduct consultations related to concluding long-term grain agreements, and a great portion of the contracts are concluded in accordance with these.

What such journeys cost us, in addition to business trip expenses, was reported in the American business newspaper THE WALL STREET JOURNAL in its 4 May 1989 issue—for your information, such a delegation traveled to the United States at the end of April, O. Klimov himself being a member. "Expectation of further purchases," the newspaper notes, "contributed to yesterday's rise in prices for wheat in future transactions in Kansas City and Chicago." The jump in prices on the stock exchange to which THE WALL STREET JOURNAL is referring improves the position of exporters on the one hand, and hurts the interests of purchasers on the other, including grain-importing countries friendly to us. With whom are we actually consulting regarding our designs?

Scientific

Nuclear Waste Blamed as Cause of Volga Quake

PM2808144190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Article by M. Piskunov, ULYANOVSKAYA PRAVDA oblast newspaper correspondent, plus editorial commentary, under the rubric "Committed Reporting": "Tracks Lead to Testing Ground?"]

[Excerpts] Inhabitants of Dimitrovgrad in Ulyanovsk Oblast have been alarmed by unusual earthquakes—an unusual phenomenon for the Middle Volga. The city was shaken strongly by underground tremors in the middle of summer. In the absence of a reply from the authorities and specialists, the journalist tried to conduct his own investigation. [passage omitted]

Immediately after the first underground shock, the city's civil defense headquarters gave a report via the local newspapers. It ran as follows: The appropriate city services have carried out reconnaissance of the area, but no external factor capable of causing a tremor has been detected. The reason for its taking place is unknown....

The gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee], it seems, was not too concerned with investigating the unusual phenomenon. Neither have representatives from industry or the nuclear power industry made an official statement.

What have nuclear power specialists got to do with this? The point is that, in searching for the reasons for the Dimitrovgrad earthquakes, I unexpectedly managed to get out to the Scientific Research Institute for Nuclear Reactors, or more precisely to its testing ground for burying radioactive liquid waste which is located right in the area where the underground elemental manifestation occurred. At one time the USSR Ministry of Geology was involved in creating the testing ground. The Scientific Research Institute for Nuclear Reactors' actual "boss" is the Ministry of the Nuclear Power Generation and the Nuclear Industry. Until recently the testing ground operated under the "secret" stamp. Last year the veil was finally lifted.

Leaders of the Scientific Research Institute for Nuclear Reactors claim that all is quiet at their testing ground and they consider the liquid waste deep burial method itself ecologically safe both to the environment and people's health. [passage omitted]

And what is the composition of the solutions being pumped at the testing ground? It transpires that liquid waste from all the facilities of the Scientific Research Institute for Nuclear Reactors' industrial site converges here as if in a slop bucket. In this way not only a large quantity of water is forced into geological formations, but also all kinds of chemicals including radioactive substances together with it. So just what is going on down there in the depths of the earth? What processes or chemical reactions could occur? There are, alas, no precise answers to these questions.

The following question probably occurs to readers: How do they handle liquid radioactive waste at the country's other nuclear facilities? The majority of AES's [nuclear electric power stations] do not use the method of pumping them into deep earth strata. They use completely different methods, including evaporation.

But let us return to the Dimitrovgrad testing ground. Familiarizing myself with the literature on the immediate problem, I studied the book "Contemporary Problems of Nuclear Science and Technology in the USSR" ["Sovremennyye Problemy Atomnoy Nauki i Tekhniki v SSSR"] published in 1976. The work's author, A. Petrosyants, who at that time occupied the post of chairman of the State Committee for Utilization of Atomic Energy in the USSR, was convinced of the economic advantages of the deep underground burial of radioactive liquid waste, and cited as an example the very same Scientific Research Institute for Nuclear Reactors testing ground. But lo and behold, comparing his information on the lithological structure of the burial zone with a document, I discovered, to put it mildly, a geological section of the well with contradictions giving rise to grave fears concerning for instance the waste burial depth.

So is it permissible to continue the practice of deep burials of radioactive liquid waste as is done in Dimitrovgrad? It would be nice to believe that an appropriate ban will follow. But this threat of calamity will remain. If karstic processes now leak through to the depths under the testing ground, or some sort of chemical reaction occurs, what guarantee is there that they will stop in the next few years...? That the worst will not happen?

Alarm is heightened by the fact that burial grounds for highly radioactive solid waste are located literally next to the testing ground and the nuclear reactor buildings are just a little further on. And there are eight of them in Dimitrovgrad, including seven in operation!

I would be glad if the version given here of the reason for the Dimitrovgrad local earthquakes is not confirmed. Be that as it may, in the light of the facts disclosed, the testing ground's fate must be decided urgently.

From the Editor

[Passage omitted] Prior to publication we showed the report to specialists.

This is how A. Rybalchenko, research laboratory chief at the VNIIPIpromtekhnologiy [expansion unknown], and D. Levitskiy, a leading engineer at the institute, interpret the situation: "First of all, underground tremors in Dimitrovgrad measuring up to Force 5 make it necessary in any case for a special interdepartmental commission to study the reasons for these phenomena. But currently there are no objective data enabling these phenomena to be linked to the burial of the Scientific Research Institute for Nuclear Reactors' industrial effluent. Research conducted since 1966 at the industrial effluent burial testing ground likewise does not permit such a conclusion to be made. For a thorough evaluation of the possible reasons for the occurrence of seismic activity, it is necessary to analyze data on natural earthquakes occurring in the last 10 to 15 years in neighboring regions—the Tatar ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], Kuybyshev Oblast, and others.... It is necessary to examine in detail the data from observations of the status of absorption levels [pogloshchayushchiye gorizonty] actually at the testing ground which did not show marked anomalies during the period of the earthquakes. The effect of filling up the Kuybyshev reservoir on the geostatic equilibrium must also not be excluded from consideration.

"We consider it necessary to set up a seismic station in this rayon and involve in this work the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Earth Physics which has experience of conducting research at similar facilities."

...One thing is clear: Letting the "earthquakes" in this city go undetected is criminal. The editor hopes to return to the problem raised in the report after thorough research of this testing ground's current condition by specialists.

Bacteria 'Worse Than AIDS' Closes Subway

LD2808201590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 28 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] At the beginning of this year, the Chkalov station and then the Selmash station [shown on video as Tashselmash-Tashkent Agriculture station] on the second line of the Tashkent subway were urgently closed down. Today these expensive underground installations are completely sealed. Well, what happened in our subway? Our correspondent Mukhtar Ganiyev reports.

[Begin recording] [Ganiyev] Complaints from the workers of the Chkalov station of headaches and poisoning were the first symptoms of the extraordinary event. Then the same thing began to happen to passengers. The station was closed. A commission was formed and scientists were invited. There are many industrial enterprises alongside the station. They began to seek the cause of the misfortune in their effluents. Scientists worked for a year and by that time the signs of misfortune—unpleasant gas and poisoning—appeared at the Selmash station too, so it was also closed.

[N.N. Stepanichenko, chemist] The more acceptable, the more widely acknowledged version now is that an extensive biological reactor is at work in the tunnel space of the subway stations.

[Ganiyev] It is a unique and very serious case. The concrete installation was, as it were, a barrier on the ancient migratory path of the microorganisms, and nobody knows what harm the biological reactor in the seething bowels of the earth may yet arouse. One thing is clear. They have already begun to wreck the concrete of the underground and to poison the human organism. According to the analysis of epidemiologists and microbiologists from Kiev, there are molds [grib] among the bacteria which are very dangerous for human life.

[Professor N.A. Dekhan-Khodzhaeva] Thirty-two patients from the Chkalov metro station have been examined. Various species [vid] of mold have been isolated from the sputum of 14 of them, while a new species of mold—(?pitilomatis variote)—has been isolated in the blood of four of them. This mold is very aggressive and attacks not only all internal organs but also all blood cells. By its nature, it is even worse than AIDS.

[Ganiyev] Train drivers are ill and the expensive stations are closed. But nobody knows what shock that biological reactor may yet give rise to at the stations of the Tashkent subway. Nature does not forgive us our mistakes. [end recording]

'Mir' Cosmonauts Continue Scheduled Work

LD2808131890 Moscow TASS in English 1248 GMT 28 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent at the Mission Control Center]

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—Soviet cosmonauts Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov are continuing the scheduled work to hook the on-board systems of the Kristall module up to the Mir orbiting platform's general loop.

Today the spacemen are to perform operations that will make it possible to use the module's engines to orient and control Mir.

Their research agenda specifies experiments to measure the dimensional and energy characteristics of space radiation and evaluate the influence of raw space on the properties of various structural materials.

According to the results of Monday's [27 August] medical check, Manakov and Stekalov are in good health.

Their mission is continuing as normal.

Damage to Trees Blamed on Space Launches

PM2808131190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Report by V. Bogomolov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [V.F. Tsvetkov, deputy director of the Forestry and Wood Chemistry Institute] This spruce blight can also appear on larches.

[Bogomolov] What about the affected fields? The poplar blight?

[Tsvetkov] The leaf and wood [word indistinct] are carried into the forest. There can be cases of any type of blight and disease, including all kinds of infestation by harmful substances carried by precipitation.

[Bogomolov] Including space-related substances?

[Tsvetkov] That is not ruled out, of course.

[Bogomolov] Of course, the spruces may just be sick. But it is not just the spruce trees. These berries and mushrooms may be poisonous too. Because more and more Pinega residents are voicing the opinion that the trouble came from the skies over the taiga, after a rocket launch from the Plesetsk Cosmodrome. [Bogomolov had noted previously that the spruce trees started turning yellow "about two weeks ago"] Following the launch there was a yellow mist in the morning. A yellow rain fell and a yellow scum remained on the surface of the Pinega River for a long time. What happened on the banks of the Taiga River? Is it an echo of the trouble that affected the White Sea in May? Both then and now the scientists just shrugged their shoulders. And we just don't know the truth.

Two 'Cosmos' Earth Satellites Launched 28 Aug

LD2908091190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0852 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 29 Aug (TASS)—A Molniya carrier rocket and Cosmos carrier rocket launched the latest artificial earth satellites, Cosmos-2097 and Cosmos-2098, respectively, in the Soviet Union on Tuesday.

The satellites are carrying scientific apparatus for continuing space research.

The apparatus aboard the satellites is working normally.

The coordinating and computing center is processing the incoming information.

Artificial Blood Vessels Operation Developed

PM2908134490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Report by N. Prokofyeva, Yu. Kovalenko from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Recently we have talked a great deal about how we borrow experience and learn from the West, and this is indeed so. It therefore comes as sensational news that a reputable Western firm is buying technology from us. The reportage we offer for your attention is doubly sensational. It concerns a surgical operation using artificial blood vessels which have as yet no equal in the world.

[Reporter] This operation takes only 20 minutes. The operation is carried out without anasthetic, is almost bloodless, and has no serious postoperative consequences. The patient has multiple arteriosclerosis. The vessels are obstructed and the blood flow is impeded. While the procedure is monitored on the x-ray screen, a catheter with the prosthesis fixed to its end is introduced into the vascular channel. It is conveyed to the diseased section.

We are now looking at the prosthesis in the hands of Professor Rabkin. He is preparing it for implantation. To enable the prosthesis to pass through the vascular channel, its diameter must be reduced to two mm. To do this, it is cooled. The prosthesis is made of an original material developed at the Steel and Alloys Institute and possesses memory properties. When it reaches the required place, under the influence of body temperature it takes on the shape previously determined. A channel is created for normal blood flow. This small manipulation takes the place of a serious operation on the vessel that would take many hours.

[Professor I.E. Rabkin] We have six years' experience in the study of internal prosthesis techniques [endoprotezivaniye], prostheses have been implanted in the vessels of the kidneys in cases of hypertension, the vessels that supply blood to the brain, and various other vessels. Furthermore, special prostheses have been manufactured that can be implanted in the biliary tract, and a similar prosthesis of a different and original design can also be placed in the esophagus when a patient has stenosis of the esophagus.

[Reporter] You are a pioneer. Is your experience being disseminated?

[Rabkin] Our experience has already been taken up by many x-ray surgeons—as they call them—in Ufa, Omsk, Kiev, and Leningrad in the implantation of these prostheses.

[Reporter] At the operation at the All-Union Scientific Center for Surgery we saw representatives of the well-known American firm Cook which specializes in the manufacture of disposable medical equipment.

What is the purpose of your present visit to Moscow?

[A.M. Nilson, United States, name as transliterated; Nilson speaks in English fading to reporter's voiceover] To work together with the world-famous Professor Rabkin, to work on the use of the new internal prosthesis he has invented, Dr. Nilson says. He assesses highly the effectiveness of the new work of the x-ray surgeons at the All-Union Scientific Center for Surgery and the wide potential for using this method in Western countries. The Cook firm has bought a license agreement for the original artificial vessel. But that is only a start. It is proposed eventually to set up a joint enterprise.

[Announcer] It is, of course, pleasing that the Cook firm has bought a license agreement for these prostheses, but I think it is far more important that this experience is being used in Ufa, Omsk, Kiev, and Leningrad where it also offers some hope.

Military

Moiseyev Discusses Soldiers' Housing Problems

LD2808172990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0925 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow, 28 Aug (TASS)—There are around 174,000 soldiers' families without apartments in the Soviet Union today, reports Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of general staff of the Armed Forces and USSR first deputy minister of defense. In an interview published today in PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK he says that in addition to these there are another 25,000 families of officers and warrant offices from units withdrawn from Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Apart from this, as part of the implementation of the 500,000 reductions, two tank divisions are to be withdrawn from the GDR.

The general points to the extreme situation with regard to the withdrawl of Soviet troops and the extremely tight schedule for its implementation, determined by the appropriate intergovernmental agreements. "The ink, as they say, has not yet dried on these agreements, and the first echelons have already set off for the Soviet Union," Mikhail Moiseyev says. "We had practically no time for preparatory work. And in principle the year and a half we have to withdraw troops from Hungary and Czechoslovakia is an extremely short time for resolving a whole complex of problems which arise in this connection."

Every year around 70,000 apartments are built by the Defense Ministry, the chief of general staff further reports. But even on such a scale this task is not within our capabilities alone. He explains that every year, after completing their service or for a number of other reasons, tens of thousands of officers, warrant officers, and men on extended service leave the Army. Last year alone, more than 110,000 men went into the reserve because of reductions. Eighty-five percent of them continue to live in military settlements. Every year more than 50,000 graduates of military schools come to serve here, and the absolute majority already have families, and as a result it is necessary to build new housing for them.

The military department proposes to significantly increase the volume and speed of the construction of housing. The total need for capital investments due to the withdrawal, according to preliminary estimates, may be more than 800 million rubles. "The withdrawal of Soviet troops from the countries of East Europe and Mongolia," the general states, "gives rise to many other social problems. These include providing work for the members of soldiers' families, schools, kindergartens, nursery schools, and supplying people with food and basic necessities."

Arms Trade, 'Threat From South' Viewed

PM2808143890 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 34, 21-27 Aug 90 p 12

[Article by Major General Vadim Makarevskiy: "The Threat From the South"]

[Text] The irony of the situation is that with time, the source of military threat to the Soviet Union will be less and less the traditional "possible enemy" and more and more the South. The threat from the South is what must worry us most. The threat from those to whom the Soviet Union has sold and continues to sell (or to be more precise, has given and continues to give as presents) state-of-the-art devastating weapons. No one can guarantee that a military conflict with the use of mass destruction weapons in the vicinity of Soviet borders will not affect, one way or another, Soviet territory. No one can guarantee that weapons once sold (or given) to a developing country will not later be used, deliberately or otherwise, against the Soviet Union.

In my opinion, it is necesary to reconsider as soon as possible the Soviet concept of weapon transfers to other countries. Political methods of settling regional conflicts are, of course, necessary, but to make them work, we must stem the mighty flow of weapons to the Third World. We must call on other weapons exporters to negotiate on a radical reduction in arms supplies, an embargo on exports of the most dangerous weapons and munitions (especially "dual purpose" types which can be used both with conventional and chemical or even nuclear loads). An international covenant on arms trade must be worked out similar to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Quick, resolute and efficient steps are needed. The Soviet Union supported the idea of establishing a register of arms trade and supplies as early as September 1988. The Soviet declaration to this effect is still in force, but exists only on paper. No progress has been made in the elaboration of such a register in the past two years.

The growth of military might and potential threat to peace from Third World arms importers is an objective reality. It is time to start thinking in earnest about how to avert the "threat from the South".

Desertions Increase in Zaporozhye Oblast

90P50071A Moscow TRUD in Russian 28 Aug 90 p 1

[Article by A. Pavlushin: "Where They Send Deserters"]

[Text] As reported by the oblast youth newspaper KOMSOMOLETS ZAPORIZHZHYA, instances of oblast citizens deserting their places of compulsory military service have increased.

In order to clarify this report, our correspondent met with Colonel A. Volskiy, military commissar of Zaporozhye Oblast.

"In general the fugitives are from Transcaucasus military construction units. In my view, this was abetted by a decree adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] which defines the fulfillment of compulsory military service by citizens of the Ukraine. This decree, by the way, does not have the force of law. The Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet later appealed to conscripts to honorably and conscientiously fulfill their soldierly duties within those units to which they have been sent to perform their service. But that was already after the fact. A second reason of no small importance is the existence of unauthorized relations within military units, the so-called "hazing" [dedovshchina].

"What will be the fate of these young men?"

"Those who report directly to oblast and rayon military commissariats we send to the garrison's military procuracy where their guilt is ascertained. Since most of them are not refusing to perform military service in general, we send them to other units until the question of their military service is resolved."

Prosecutors View Draft-Dodging, Army Crime

PM2908080390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Aug 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by Colonel of Justice L. Smertin: "At the Main Military Prosecutor's Office"]

[Text] A session of the enlarged collegium of the Main Military Prosecutor's Office has been held. Topical questions of the state of legality and law and order in the Army and Navy and the priorities of prosecutor's supervisory work in the present complex situation were discussed.

The report of Lieutenant General of Justice A.F. Katusev, chief military prosecutor and USSR deputy prosecutor general, and other speeches noted that the crime rate in the Army and Navy has increased by over one-third. Avoidance of military service is assuming massive proportions.

Participating in the collegium's work were A.Ya. Sukharev, USSR prosecutor general; Yu.V. Golik, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Law and Order and Combating Crime; Colonel General N.I. Shlyaga, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; and representatives of law enforcement agencies, the CPSU Central Committee, and ministries and departments.

Strategic Missile Forces View 'Restructuring'

PM2808150990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Aug 90 First Edition p 2

[Report: "Meeting of Political Organs' Chiefs"]

[Text] The directions of the restructuring of political and educational work were discussed at a meeting of chiefs of the Strategic Missile Forces political organs. The report was delivered by Colonel General V. Rodin, member of the military council and chief of the Strategic Missile Forces Political Directorate.

During the discussion of the report, and at the roundtable sessions, the participants in the meeting submitted quite a few constructive proposals aimed at improving political work in present-day conditions.

The missile men were addressed by Colonel General N. Shlyaga, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

Baltic Republics

Prunskiene Proposes Cooperation to Azerbaijan

LD2808221990 Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] The Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene has sent a proposal on all-round mutually beneficial cooperation to the government of Azerbaijan. There are plans to considerably expand the volume of mutual shipment of manufactured goods and farm produce, set up joint ventures in the light industry, engineering and the production of radio equipment. Lithuania has concluded similar agreements with several other Soviet republics, taking into account the specific features of their economy.

Lithuanian Reaction to Anniversary of Pact Noted

Strong Reaction to Vandalism

PM2808153390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent A. Gelbakh: "A Great Deal of Noise and Then... Nothing"]

[Text] Vilnius—The intention of the people behind the action was that it should be mind-blowing in scale and demonstrate the Lithuanian people's monolithic cohesion and desire to embark on the shining "free path to Europe." But despite the ardent and, at times, frantic appeals that have been made in recent days on television and in the newspapers, neither impressive size, nor monolithic unity was in evidence. Not at all, it seems to me, because the idea of building a common European home is alien to the Lithuanian people. It is just that "good feelings" cannot be kept alive on a diet of malice and bitterness. The separatists, alas, are often filled with the latter. Judge for yourselves.

The "European path" started with vandals desecrating the graves of soldiers killed in the struggle against the Hitlerite fascists and monuments to partisans and Lithuanian revolutionaries in Klaipeda, Siauliai, Vilnius, and other cities and villages on the eve of 23 August. This outrageous behavior provoked a strong reaction from a section of the population. There were protest rallies. In Klaipeda workers volunteered to guard monuments to Soviet troops and night watches were organized in Vilnius. Since the militia and the new authorities are not bothering to look for and punish the perpetrators of the acts of vandalism, Soviet Army troops are helping to guard monuments in many places.

The dismantling of monuments to V.I. Lenin and Lithuanian revolutionaries in many cities, sanctioned by the Republican and local authorities, the desecration of graves by hooligans, the attempts to seize party archives, fighting in an enraged crowd—all this is not only the background to the republic's "democratic" "path to Europe." It means tracks leading to impasses of bitterness and malice, where it is very difficult, nearly impossible to find mutual understanding.

The actual "European path" action, which took place at the Lazdijai border point, can be briefly described: It was certainly not participated in by hundreds or even tens of thousands of people, as expected by the organizers. The barbed wire fence on the border with Poland was not cut up for souvenirs either. The atmosphere was one of exemplary order, maintained by the Soviet and Polish border guards. On producing their documents, people were able to cross the border freely, meet with friends, acquaintances, and strangers, and sing songs.

V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian parliament, visited the border. The gist of his speech was that the action demonstrated once again that the border between Poland and Lithuania belongs only to Poland and Lithuania. And the border regime should be established by mutual agreement, without interference by third countries. Yet the republic is preparing for talks with the Soviet Union. So before making such statements it might not be a bad thing to clear up controversial issues relating to Union and republican property and certain territories.

Yesterday the border situation was calm.

Monument Attack Investigated

LD2708230190 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Excerpts] The Lithuanian Interior Ministry has reported that an investigation is being carried out into the attack against the Bolshevik monument in Vilnius that took place last Thursday [23 August]. [passage omitted] Militia forces have detained a young man from Kaunas, Lithuania's second largest city. [passage omitted]

Leader Denounces Incidents

LD2808213790 Moscow TASS in English 2124 GMT 28 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Kazys Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius August 29 TASS—Vice President of the Lithuanian parliament Kazimieras Motieka described disturbances that occurred in the Lithuanian capital on August 23, as barbarism and vandalism.

In a televised address on Monday, he said "barbarian actions and vandalism compromise our fight for freedom."

On August 23, a group of young people from the Jaunoji Lietuva Organisation, the Helsinki Group and the League of Lithuanian Freedom, marked the 51st anniversary of the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact gathering at the city central square.

Shouting slogans, they poured inflammable liquid on the monument to Vladimir Lenin and set fire to it. Later in the day, they tore off a memorial plate and a bas-relief to prominent Lithuanian and Soviet state figures Justas Paleckis. In August 1940, Paleckis headed the plenipotentiary delegation of the popular Sejm that passed over to the USSR Supreme Soviet a resolution asking to joint the Soviet Lithuania to the Soviet Union.

Motieka called on youth organisations to "denounce such actions," change their style of activities and carry out everything they devise "within the framework of the law" and "in cooperation with self-government bodies."

At the same time, Motieka claimed the "residents' fury with respect to invaders, their hangers-on and other strangers and hatred to their idols in the republican capital can be understood."

Klajpeda Residents Appeal to Yazov for Help

PM2808131390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent: "Telegram From Klajpeda"]

[Text] Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense, has received a telegram. It says in particular:

"Who will help to halt this frenzied campaign? Who will support us in the struggle for our civic rights and human dignity? Our hearts and minds cannot accept the fact that the graves of Soviet soldiers who lost their lives during the liberation of Klajpeda are being defiled with impunity under cover of darkness...."

It goes on to say that a rally of the city's residents adopted an address which was signed by I. Bremskauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU) Gorkom [City Party Committee] and 729 other people. It also declares that the decision to dismantle the monument to V.I. Lenin and the obelisk to soldiers who liberated Klajpeda from the fascists was adopted by the city soviet which is under "Sajudis" influence and condones the acts of vandalism.

"We residents of Klajpeda," the telegram emphasizes, "approve of Soviet soldiers guarding the graves which are precious in our memory and where 5,520 soldiers and officers, including 21 heroes of the Soviet Union, lie buried."

Latvia's Union Treaty Stance Scored by Faction

90UN2699B Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 2 Aug 90 p 3

["Open letter to A.V. Gorbunovs, chairman of the Republic of Latvia Supreme Soviet, from deputies of the 'Equality' faction"]

[Text] Esteemed Anatoliy Valeryanovich!

On the morning of 30 July of this year, prior to the start of a plenary session of the Republic of Latvia Supreme Soviet, you informed the deputies of the Supreme Soviet Presidium decision "Attitude Toward Participation in the Elaboration and Adoption of a Union Treaty" adopted on 26 July. Inasmuch as you did not initiate discussion of this information and suggested that, in the event of questions arising pertaining to it, the deputies address you in writing, we have resolved to avail ourselves of this suggestion.

Our first questions pertain to procedure. Why was such an important decision adopted by the presidium, not a session of the Supreme Soviet? In addition, why have the deputies not received a text of the decision which has already been adopted? Why did even the verbal announcement of it come not at the very next plenary session on 27 July but only on 30 July?

The decision of the Supreme Soviet Presidium says that "authorized representatives of the Republic of Latvia have not participated in the elaboration of a Union treaty of the USSR and do not henceforward deem it possible to participate in this process" inasmuch as the "declaration of 4 May 1990 on restoration of the independence of the Republic of Latvia defined its status as an independent state" and it is essential "to build all further relations with the USSR on the basis of the peace treaty between Russia and Latvia of 11 August 1920." It is unclear to us why the authors of these words considered that an INDEPENDENT state may not adopt a SOVEREIGN decision on entry into a union of states. Declarations are insufficient for such a decision, as, equally, for the renunciation of such, and what is needed is a scientific analysis of the socioeconomic and political consequences of the development of the republic in the Union or outside of it. As far as we know, there is no positive forecast in the event of a severance of ties to the USSR. We recall the following words from the message to USSR President M.S. Gorbachev, which you signed and which was adopted simultaneously with the declaration of 4 May: "We realize how difficult and painful this process will be for both Latvia and the USSR as a whole. We understand that real acquisition of the independence lost in the years of Stalin's expansionism will not be a matter of just one day or just one year. The declaration of 4 May 1990 merely opens the door to a transitional period—a period of honest dialogue and the formulation of guarantees of mutual interests. In addition, we are convinced that there lies ahead of the two neighbor countries an era of close cooperation and the most extensive political, economic, and human contacts. It would be myopia to sever the evolved historical, national economic, and human ties."

Does the categorical refusal to participate in all negotiations concerning a Union treaty not seem myopia to you, Anatoliy Valeryanovich?

In our opinion, a refusal to participate in the conclusion of a Union treaty will prolong the time of determination of the legal status of the period of transition toward realization of the state independence of Latvia and, naturally, make more complicated cooperation with the republics that express a desire to subscribe to a Union treaty.

We request that you familiarize the members of the presidium with the content of this letter and answer our questions in point of substance.

Respectfully,

[Signed] S. Dimanis, chairman of the "Equality" faction

Latvian Decree on Union Treaty Published

90UN2699A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 10 Aug 90 p 1

[Decree of the Republic of Latvia Supreme Soviet Presidium: "Attitude Toward Participation in the Elaboration and Adoption of a Union Treaty"]

[Text] The Republic of Latvia Supreme Soviet Presidium:

complying with the declaration of 4 May 1990 on restoration of the independence of the Republic of Latvia defining the status of the Republic of Latvia as an independent state,

recognizing the need for the shaping of all further relations with the USSR on the basis of the principles of the peace treaty of 11 August 1920 between Russia and Latvia, and

wishing to maintain equal and friendly relations with the USSR, its Union republics, and other state formations within the USSR and other states and also considering the process of the conclusion of treaties with the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova and also the treaties with the Republic of Lithuania and the Republic of Estonia which have already been concluded, resolves:

1. To declare that authorized representatives of the Republic of Latvia have not participated in the elaboration of a Union treaty of the USSR and do not henceforward deem it possible to participate in this process.

2. To determine that all treaties of the Republic of Latvia with the USSR, its Union republics, and other state formations within the USSR, and other states may be concluded only on the basis of the principles of the declaration of 4 May 1990 concerning the status of the Republic of Latvia as an independent state.

3. To stimulate negotiations and the conclusion in their wake of treaties with the USSR, its Union republics, and other state formations within the USSR, and other states on the establishment of equal, friendly, and mutually profitable political and economic relations.

[Signed] A. Gorbunovs, chairman of the Republic of Latvia Supreme Soviet; I. Daudiss, secretary of the Republic of Latvia Supreme Soviet

[Dated] Riga, 26 July 1990

Latvian Plenum Debates CPSU Congress, Tasks

PM2808110990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent O. Meshkov under the general heading: "Plenums Held"]

[Text] Riga, 24 Aug—The fifth Latvian Communist Party [LCP] Central Committee plenum was held here yesterday. There were two items on the agenda: the results of the 28th CPSU Congress and the LCP's paramount tasks in the implementation of its decisions, and also the Latvian Communists' draft statutes and action program.

A. Rubiks, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the LCP Central Committee, delivered the report.

The plenum participants gave the 28th CPSU Congress a high rating. It was noted that it had been a significant event in the party's life and that important decisions on further deepening perestroyka in the country had been elaborated amid fierce political debate.

The plenum participants had an anxious discussion about the complex economic situation in the republic.

The plenum participants reaffirmed their assessment of the short-sighted decision by the Latvian Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium to refuse to participate in the elaboration of a new Union treaty.

Independent Latvian Party Head Interviewed

AU2808144590 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 24 Aug 90 p 2

[Interview with Anatoliy Kezberz, first secretary of the Independent Latvian Communist Party, by "NSL"; on board an airplane from Riga to Moscow, date not given: "Yeltsin Negotiated With Them From an Equal Position"]

[Text] When the Latvian Communist Party split into two in the spring, the then Communist Party Secretary Anatoliy Kezbers held a press conference. There, I asked him how he felt when the fundamentalists—the followers of a "uniform" Latvian party—demonstrated and demanded his head. Kezberz answered that if they did not split and the followers of the national party did not decide to carry out a radical change, no Latvian would remain in this party.

Since that press conference, Anatoliy Kezberz has been elected as head of the new Latvian party by the members of this party still calling itself a communist party. On his way from Riga to Moscow, Anatoliy Kezberz gave an interview to MAGYAR HIRLAP and said, among other things, that the decision made on that Sunday afternoon in the Spring proved to be correct.

[Kezberz] Our main goal was to preserve our character as a party of the masses. In the meantime, we have reorganized the party and we want to act as a social democratic party. At the upcoming congress scheduled for 15 September, we will decide to call the party either a workers' party or a social democratic party. After analyzing public opinion, I can say that there is complete agreement in this respect. There is complete agreement concerning the process of social democratization. The Polish and Hungarian experiences are very important for us. We need personal contacts and experience. Being a parliamentary party, the two parliaments—the Latvian and the All-Federative Supreme Soviet—are the main venues of our activity. Unlike our Lithuanian friends, Latvia did not recall its deputies from the legislative body of the Soviet Union, but we try to influence the democratic bodies of the Soviet Union in this transitional period that could last one or ten years. I would also like to point out that the Latvian Communist Party also participates in the government. Half of the ministers in Latvia are members of our party and Anatolijs Gorbunovs, who is the Latvian president, is also a member of our party's leadership. We can fulfill this political role only in cooperation with the Latvian People's Front.

[Question] The Latvian government was the first one to come to an agreement with the Independent Russian Republic on direct relations, that is, without the interference of the Soviet Government. How do you evaluate this step?

[Kezberz] Let us make it clear: This is not yet a signed agreement. We are talking here about preliminary negotiations. As for the direct contacts, Russia is our major trade and economic partner. It is practical to ensure the continuity of these traditional relations on new foundations. As for the political background of these relations, Russian Republic President Yeltsin recognized the full independence of the Latvian Republic. In other words, he did something that Bush and Thatcher failed to do: Yeltsin welcomed our delegation as a delegation of an independent state and he negotiated with us as equal partners.

Latvian Premier Notes Region's Economic Problems

PM2808095990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Aug 90 Second Edition pp 1, 6

[Report by correspondent O. Meshkov: "Latvia: To the Sound of Bells"]

[Text] Riga—At the request of the Latvian People's Front [LPF], church bells rang out yesterday to mark the conclusion of the illegal Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact on 23 August 1939.

The purpose of the action was to remind the world of this sad event. Therefore the red and white state flags bore mourning bands. Hardly had the first peals rung out when bonfires were lit all over the republic. In its appeal the LPF invited inhabitants to sit by the evening bonfires and discuss Latvia's future.

The people who made the bombastic speeches at the rallies and, indeed, many of those who spoke by yesterday's bonfires were full of promises of all manner of good things, of prosperity in the event of Latvia's becoming a state independent of the USSR. But speeches are speeches, and current reality makes no one wildly optimistic. The day before, I talked with Vilis Dubrovskiy, director of the "Iyetsava" Poultry Farm, the biggest in Latvia. "We can last another day, but I do not know what is going to happen then," the director said. "There is nothing to feed the birds on." The director was very much looking forward to republican Prime Minister I. Godmanis' address to journalists, planned for that evening. "Perhaps I will hear something reassuring," V. Dubrovskiy said.

I do not think, though, that the director's optimism will have been kindled by the premier's speech. Here is a brief account of his assessment of the economic situation in the republic. In I. Godmanis' view, agriculture is in a critical state, there is uncertainty over purchase prices, and conflicts between kolkhoz members and free peasants, as he called them, are getting worse.

The government head, touching on the question of relations between Latvia and Russia, said that a treaty relating exclusively to the economic sphere will probably be signed in the next two weeks. Expressing his own view, the premier noted that there should be cooperation with the center as well as the development of direct, horizontal economic links between the republics. This is essential in order to guard against a potential crisis. I. Godmanis also said that there is a disastrous lack of hard currency in the republic. About 30 percent of light industry uses imported raw materials. Therefore these production capacities directly dependent on imports may come to a halt.

Add to that the extremely complex situation in the construction sphere: Plans are only one-third fulfilled.

Latvian Premier Sees Rural 'Class Struggle'

PM2808105990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by I. Litvinova: "Latvian Economy: A Host of Problems"]

[Text] Riga—An economic union of sovereign republics—this model of future relations seems most promising to Ivars Godmanis, chairman of the Latvian Council of Ministers. On his return from Moscow, where he had been taking part in the work of an enlarged session of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium, he met with journalists.

What areas of the republic's economy seem the most urgent from the perspective of the head of government's office? Bearing in mind that the word "office" may be used more in a figurative sense. In the account given by the Council of Ministers chairman, figures constantly alternated with impressions of his recent tour of most of the regions of Latvia. I. Godmanis called the situation in the countryside critical for a number of reasons. Primarily the confusion over purchase prices for agricultural produce and mixed feed.

"And add to that the characteristics of the political situation in the countryside," the chairman of the Council of Ministers said. "I would call them a class struggle. It is expressed in the most unpleasant forms. Farm leaders are trapped between two opposing forces: the new peasant farmers and the collective farm [kolkhoz] members. Relations, it must be said bluntly, are fierce: It has reached the point where, if a man leaves to become a private farmer, the kolkhoz members vote to expel him and the members of his family from the kolkhoz and ban the peasants from receiving treatment at their out-patient clinic. The leaders do not know if it is worthwhile buying equipment and starting on construction. There is also the agonizing question: If everything is distributed to peasant farms, who will look after the social sphere? In particular, who will pay pensions? At the moment it is the kolkhoz...

The government head reacted critically to the law on paying compensation to victims of the repressions, recently adopted by the republic's Supreme Soviet:

"We get the money from the Latvian budget. Will we be able to pay everyone?—that is the main question. I am talking not about those who suffered themselves: That is our duty. On the question of their heirs I would take a different position. Some have an apartment in Riga, a dacha in Yurmala and are still demanding 40,000 rubles from the local authorities for a grandfather who died long ago... We also have people who turn up with a piece of paper and say: If my land has been denationalized, I want it back. Many forget that, in 1940, the people who had bought land using state loans were still indebted to it. Therefore it will have to be worked out who owes what to whom. The problems that I have mentioned are fraught with dangerous consequences of a scale that we still do not fully appreciate.

I. Godmanis dwelt on problems of self-management. There is still no clear demarcation of functions and powers at the level of city, rayon, and rural soviets. Who controls the budget, who formulates it? Many conflicts are already cropping up. I am afraid, I. Godmanis said, that many deputies want to resign their seats and some soviets may stop work entirely. And then the Supreme Soviet can adopt all the resolutions it likes, but there will no mechanism to implement them.

The chairman of the Latvian Council of Ministers praised highly the alternative program that Academician Shatalin's group is working on. The model of an economic union of sovereign states seems the most promising to him. Latvia has begun concluding direct contracts with other republics. Special groups have gone to Central Asia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia. A contract with Russia is close to being signed. In Moscow, I. Godmanis met with I. Silayev, chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers.

"People have lost faith in centralized supply," I. Godmanis said, "but at the moment there are no guarantees that the republics are sufficiently sovereign and can dispose of the produce of Union enterprises, so we must cooperate with the central departments too. Therefore our representatives will be going to Moscow in the near future to work within the framework of the old distribution model."

I. Godmanis considers the question of Latvia's own currency—the lat—dubious.

"If we want to be part of an economic union with other republics, our own currency rules out that possibility because payments in a single economic union can only be made in rubles."

Quite a few problems—great and small—in the republic's economy were mentioned. Thus I asked this question: What gives the chairman of the Council of Ministers optimism? I. Godmanis mentioned what he sees as the future process of privatization and the ending of state control—first and foremost. Attempts will be made to find a civilized language of communication with the USSR Ministry of Finances because a financial war can only aggravate the situation. The question of mixed feed for Latvian agriculture is 80-percent settled.

There is optimism, but at the moment there are too many problems for it to be the predominant feeling in the mind of the Latvian Council of Ministers chairman. That was understood by everyone at the press conference.

Estonian Party Urges End to Demagogic Attacks

LD2808141990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1250 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Tallinn, 28 Aug (TASS)—The Estonian Communist Party has called on all political parties and movements operating in the republic to refrain from labeling and making demagogical attacks on each other. A statement by the Bureau of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee has been published in SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA today.

Certain leaders of the Estonian National Independence Party and of the Estonia Committee, the statement says, have chosen both present and past Communists as targets for their attacks. But Communists are in the majority in both the current Estonian government and in the delegation authorized by the republic's Supreme Soviet to hold talks with the central authorities. It is therefore by no mere chance that it is on this very day when the delegation trying to achieve Estonian independence has met the official delegation of the Soviet Government for the first time that there have been so many provocations of various kinds, whether it be desecration of the monument to the leader of the Soviet Russia which was first to recognize the democratic Estonian Republic, or the expression of lack of confidence in the current government of the Estonian Republic, or calls for struggle aginst the Russians and Communists.

The impression is forming that certain people are not satisfied with our steady movement toward democracy and freedom. The Estonian public needs to make maximum use of all the material and spiritual potential of its forces and of the experience and skill of all people of good will and all people living in Estonia to resolve the very complex social and economic tasks facing us, the statement stresses. Provocations and the spreading of distrust and threats against other movements can be explained only by group interests.

Estonian Party Secretary Sillari Interviewed

PM2808093190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Aug 90 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with E.-A.A. Sillari, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, by I. Teterin: "Dialogue Still Possible"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Enn-Arno Augustovich Sillari, one of the youngest members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, was born in Tallinn in 1944. He graduated from Kaunas Polytechnical Institute. His working life began in 1967 as assistant foreman at the "Keyla" Factory, where he worked for seven years. It was there that he joined the CPSU in 1972. In 1974 he switched from the post of the factory's deputy chief engineer to party work. He has been elected among other things as first secretary of the Tartu and Tallinn Estonian Communist Party city committees. In March he was elected first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

[Teterin] It is quite possible that by beginning our conversation by congratulating you on your election to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, I am unwittingly putting you in a somewhat ambiguous position. After all, within the republic and even within the Estonian Communist Party's ranks, that very fact is now viewed in highly varying ways. And therefore I want to begin with the question: How do you view your election to the CPSU Central Committee Politburo?

[Sillari] I would begin somewhat earlier—from your remark about the "ambiguity" of the position and the "varying assessments." Since you mentioned it... You see, it is, after all, not a question of individual claims, sympathies, or antipathies although, of course, some people clearly do have them. On the whole this variety of views is considerably more deeply rooted than that and is connected primarily with the processes taking place within the Estonian Communist Party. And indeed not only in Estonia. The recent 28th CPSU Congress revealed quite clearly, and I am not afraid of this word, the confrontation existing between different tendencies, between conservatives and democrats, within the party. In our republic this confrontation is aggravated by a number of local specific factors connected with the situation in the republic, its recent history, the growth of national self-awareness, and so forth.

It is well known, and I said this from the rostrum of the 28th CPSU Congress, that the 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress in March announced the transition to an autonomous Estonian Communist Party. A Central Committee was elected which we called a coalition because it included both representatives of those organizations which supported the program adopted by the congress and also those who did not fully support it then but considered it necessary and correct to work together to resolve many questions of the party's life and its attitude toward the processes taking place in the republic. This means Communists of both Estonian and non-Estonian nationality. At the CPSU congress I represented the coalition Central Committee's line as its first secretary.

At that time some of the delegates to our 20th congress (123 people out of almost 700) did not agree with the majority's position. They created their own Central Committee, elected their own leaders, and called themselves the Communist Party of Estonian on the CPSU Platform. This section of Communists was also represented within our delegation at the 28th party congress. And these two sections of the delegation had a different attitude on many provisions of the documents discussed and adopted at the congress. That section of the delegation which represented the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee on the CPSU Platform clearly thought that the Politburo should include their representative. However, the Central Committee Plenum eventually supported the Estonian Communist Party and the line of its coalition Central Committee. It thereby supported my election to the Politburo.

I must say that varying opinions of my membership of the Politburo were also expressed from the opposite side, as it were. Some more radically-minded Communists considered that this was essentially a new way of depriving the Communist Party of its autonomy. However, a large section of Communists treated this fact with understanding. Although, of course, much will depend on how the Politburo builds its activity... And how I myself work in it.

[Teterin] That leads to my next question: In your view what is the significance of this new principle for forming the Politburo, adopted by the 28th congress?

[Sillari] In other words, what is the importance of electing the first secretaries of the Union republic Communist Party Central Committees to the Politburo? Essentially it is well known that foreign political scientists and journalists who commented on the results of the congress called the Politburo's new "countenance" one of the main results of the congress. And we cannot fail to agree with that. It is a recognition of federalism in the party. At least a substantial step toward it. We assess it as an increase in the role of the Union Communist Parties which for us is undoubtedly very important.

For a long time the Estonian Communist Party, like the Communist Parties of the other Union republics, was essentially in the position of a republican or even oblast organization of the CPSU. P. Luchinskiy, first secretary of the Moldovan Communist Party Central Committee, also answering the questions of a PRAVDA correspondent, recently said, absolutely correctly in my view, that the party seems to have been frightened of assuming the expression of any national interests, so entrenched is the habitual idea that only general ideas, only all-Union goals are important to the party. All this has to a certain extent deprived Communists of an active role and people have begun to retreat from them.

In Estonia for many years the Communist Party was associated in the people's consciousness with the role of the center's governor-general. The 1939-1940 events, so painful to the Estonian people, the enforced collectivization mechanically transferred from the Russia of the thirties to the Estonia of the late forties, to absolutely different historical, economic, and social conditions and different traditions of economic management and so forth are linked directly with the party's name. Also linked with it are memories of the mass deportations, the exile of tens of thousands of totally innocent people. This is the heavy burden of the Communist Party's historical responsibility for everything the people had to experience. To be completely frank, until very recently the Communist Party did not and indeed could not build its policy on the basis of the interests of the republic's people.

Now, after the 28th CPSU Congress, we have acquired access to the top level of political leadership. An opportunity has appeared to take an equal part in the elaboration of the big politics of very important political and strategic decisions. Incidentally, the top leadership of the party and country now has the opportunity to receive objective and reliable information from the localities and to have direct feedback. And surely correct political decisions taking account of the interests of different Communist Parties and republics cannot be taken without that. And, most important, they cannot be taken promptly, anticipating imminent events, and not when there is no other way out and a decision becomes valueless because it is viewed in the Union republics and their communist parties as an enforced concession. Unfortunately, it is possible to cite a whole series of decisions taken recently which have failed to bring prestige either to the party or to its leadership. Simply because they were too late.

Incidentally, it is now that some of our republic's Communists who used to fight for complete independence and for the Estonian Communist Party's separation from the CPSU are saying that at our 20th congress we acted correctly by not breaking off ties with the CPSU. Inasmuch as we have not lost the opportunity to make our contribution to the elaboration of very important program documents and to the question for decisions which should open the way to the party's resurrection on a new basis.

Returning to the problem of membership of the Politburo I should like to cite lines from a letter sent to me by a leader of the Democratic Party who, I emphasize, is far from friendly toward the CPSU and the Estonian Communist Party. "Special concern," he writes, "is caused by your influence as a Politburo member on the other Communists in the Supreme Soviet. Essentially this could be a time bomb for establishing a neocommunist regime in Estonia." That is the individual way in which he noted that the new principle for forming the Politburo is aimed at promoting an increase in the role of the Communist Party.

[Teterin] Could you familiarize PRAVDA readers with your personal view of the situation in Estonia and the prospects for the republic's Communist Party to influence the processes taking place in society?

[Sillari] As a whole I think the processes taking place in Estonia are objective. Even two to three years ago it was obvious that "Estonian problems" so to speak were not some exception and that after a while they would start to be repeated in other parts of the country. Perestroyka has aroused the people's self-awareness and caused an eruption of independent initiative and creative activeness. And it must be said that this has been a surprisingly rapid development as a result of which Estonians have increasingly begun to feel they are the masters of their lives, the creators of their own history. Perhaps this sounds too loud against the background of our intensifying difficulties, against the background of the profound economic and social crisis in which the republic has found itself, nonetheless I would not repudiate these words. That the not always positive consequences of excessive politicization and of the impatience with which people are trying to resolve all problems at once—that these consequences had an effect is another matter. Some political forces anxious for power played on mainly national feelings, arousing and manipulating them. As our well known actor and producer Kalyu Komissarov, who became a CPSU Central Committee member at the 28th congress, put it, there was too much scum—blue, black, and white on the one hand and bright red on the other. People became tired of this superpoliticization, of the games of political forces, of the antagonism, of the economic difficulties, of the problems which were not and are not being resolved. And common sense is being manifested increasingly among the people.

Now as for the prospects of the Communist Party's influence in the republic. I think the party could be a real political force under these new and complex political conditions. First of all because the two main questions which other political movements are endlessly puffing up—the nationalities question and the occupation question—have been removed in it. Of course, the nationalities question has not been removed on the plane of renouncing the defense of national interests but the renunciation of the hypertrophied all-engulfing national idea. After all these are different things. We believe that the party can and must have influence as a force which ensures stability in the present difficult transitional period. Stability and civil peace.

And again we must return to the question of the party's autonomy, because only on this condition can it play a substantial role in society. Back at the 19th party conference the Estonian Communist Party put forward new ideas such as the republic's sovereignty and economic independence and others, which today are being mentioned from the loftiest rostrums. But at the time we were not understood or supported. Moreover, we were sharply criticized. Now other republics are proceeding along this path. So that I do not think that we were rushing ahead, it was the center which was lagging, but that is small consolation, to use sports language, the loss of pace by no means helped to strengthen the Communist Party's prestige in the people's eyes.

At the congress we frequently felt what great differences exist between us all—in our paths of historical and economic development, in traditions, and in the way we see some problems. Independence will enable the Communist Parties to act with a consideration for specific local features, specific conditions, the deployment of political forces, and their orientation. It will enable the republican Communist Parties to become real political parties capable of responding flexibly and promptly to a particular turn of events in the republic. And it is very important that the 28th congress embarked on this measure. The autonomy of the republican Communist Parties is now enshrined by the statutes.

I should like to repeat once again the idea I voiced from the rostrum of the 28th CPSU Congress. For some reason the opinion exists that the principle of federalism will lead to the disintegration of the party and its division into national compartments. But after all we are speaking not of a national party or rather not of a party of one nationality. We are speaking of the republican Communist Party, which is joined and should be joined by Communists of different nationalities. Incidentally, among the many parties and movements which have emerged in Estonia the Communist Party is the only political organization which unites people of different nationalities, which is very important in our complex situation. And if we are able to retain it as such, this will also help to strengthen it as a political force.

[Teterin] But do you hope that the two wings of the Estonian Communist Party, which today are vying zealously with each other, will unite again into a party which is united not only in its aims but also in name?

[Sillari] I would not speak of rivalry, at least on our side... As for unification, that should be decided by the Communists themselves and the party organizations. It seems to me that that is the most correct path. Our opponents have accused us of betraying Marxism, of the fact that the program adopted by the 20th Estonian Communist Party Congress and, incidentally, not geared to the long term but to the solution of immediate tasks aimed at the republic's emergence from the crisis, that this is the program of the "wrong" party, and so forth. But, as the 28th CPSU Congress showed, the Estonian Communist Party's political course has been chosen correctly, it is dictated by the realities of life and the specific situation existing in the republic. But the 21st Estonian Communist Party Congress will obviously put everything in its place.

[Teterin] I think that in the course of this conversation we cannot avoid the problem of Estonia's sovereignty—that unique flag which is used by any movement or political party in the struggle for the people's support. How personally do you see the solution of this problem on the political plane?

[Sillari] Indeed, the problem of Estonia's state independence has recently been the central issue of our political life. The steps of the republic's Supreme Soviet which gave rise to contradictory responses in various national groups and political forces are also connected with it.

The Estonian Communist Party has precisely defined its attitude toward this problem at its 20th congress. Although, of course, our position on this plane is constantly being considered, supplemented, and made more specific. Especially as we already have Lithuania's experience. We are also attentively following the processes taking place in the Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldova, and the Russian Federation and are analyzing their experience as far as possible. And there is no doubt that great importance attaches to the stance adopted in this respect by the 28th party congress and expressed in its program documents and in particular in the resolution on a democratic nationalities policy.

What is our position? Briefly, the Estonian Communist Party supports the idea of the republic's state autonomy. Let's look the truth in the eyes. If in the present situation the communist party adheres strictly to ideological structures which rule out Estonia's state autonomy, that will mean that the majority of the Estonian people are seeking one thing and the Communists another.

But what is the special nature of our view of this problem compared to, for instance, Estonia's other political forces? We believe that state autonomy is not achieved in an instance, merely by the adoption of the relevant political document by a majority of votes. The restoration of independence is a complex and contradictory process during which not only the legal but also the social and economic prerequisites should be created. And the realistic path here is the path of talks. Between Estonia and the Union and between Estonia and other interested republics.

We also outlined this viewpoint of ours precisely in the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau in connection with the discussion in the republic's Supreme Soviet of relations between the USSR and Estonia. We stressed that we should take part in these processes in close cooperation with the democratic forces of all the republics which now belong to the USSR. Here it is important to see the dynamics of this process, to determine its stages, to set aims leading to real success, and to find for them the optimum means according with the interests of all sides.

[Teterin] The active transformation of economic structures is under way in Estonia now. For instance, private ownership has been legalized, the privatization of enterprises in the consumer services and trade sphere has begun, and entrepreneurship is developing rapidly. It is true that it is increasingly difficult for the poor strata of the population to make ends meet. It is appropriate to ask: What socioeconomic policy will the Estonian Communist Party defend, by what methods will the party be able to influence state policy in the economic and social spheres?

[Sillari] I would say that this question merges closely with another—the determination of the party's new role under present conditions.

One of the most important results of the 28th congress, as is well known, was the demarcation of the functions of the state and the party. In Estonia this division had already occurred. Article six of the Constitution had been repealed before. So that we were perhaps faced earlier than others with the need to understand this new role of the party and to find our path.

It is clear that under the conditions of the multiparty system which really exists the Communist Party will retain its influence only if it is able to become attractive to people, if it is able to prove that society needs it, if it puts forward its own vigorous and constructive program. Incidentally, the principle for forming party ranks which until recently was introduced rigorously into party life—the principle of the preferential admission of workers into the party—may today prove and has already proven a disservice to the party. It is a case of the party's intellectual reserves. I want to be understood correctly. While in no way belittling the dignity of the working class, I myself began as a worker, at the same time I want to say that today perhaps more than ever the party needs intellectual forces, needs fresh ideas which will help it win people's trust. But that is by the way.

So what then should the party's role be today? Evidently at this stage, under the tough conditions of the transition to the market economy, it should devote its main attention to the functions of the working people's social protection.

What is our approach here? It is absolutely clear that under the conditions of the present deep economic crisis in which the republic, like the entire country, has found itself it is essential to take extraordinary measures. We believe the only real way out of the crisis to be the radical perestroyka of the economic system. The free development of enterprise, including private enterprise, the drastic reduction of the proportion of state property, decentralization, privatization of production, and various types of protection of all forms of property, the improvement of the finance and credit system—all this is a real means for emerging from the crisis. Moreover, it is inevitable. But something else is also clear. All these changes will lead and are already leading to the growth of people's property inequality. After all, so far our country lacks the social mechanisms and social guarantees which should ensure an acceptable living standard for the working person. Essentially the process has already begun and you yourself have cited its components.

We see the way out in vigorous parliamentary activity, in the elaboration of legislative initiatives. For instance, the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau voiced its viewpoint on the draft law on individual income tax, believing that it directly worsens thr material situation of the majority of taxpayers.

In our statement we noted that the draft which has been submitted gears us toward the resolution of bottlenecks in the economy not through the better organization of economic management but by the reduction of the already low level of consumption of the average family. We suggested to all party organizations and to people living in Estonia [Estonozemeltsy] that through their deputies they seek the adoption of a more democratic law on income tax. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenum came out with a statement "on property relations in Estonia" which denounced the mechanical restoration of property relations which existed before 1940 on the basis of the right of inheritance which, in our opinion, would not only be economically unjustified but would also give rise to new social injustice. We firmly noted once again that the Estonian Communist Party will prevent the elimination of the undisputed achievements of our previous development, the accessibility of education and culture and skilled medical services for all strata of the population. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has also voiced its opinion of an increase in prices. We analyzed government policy in this respect and the possible consequences of its insufficient consideration and responsibility and indicated weak spots and made proposals.

[Teterin] Incidentally, at the spring elections to the republican parliament in purely formal terms the Communists won a victory—they received a majority of votes. Nonetheless today it is by no means they who determine legislative policy. How could that happen?

[Sillari] Indeed, at the time of the elections Communists comprised about half the members of parliament. Many of them had joined the People's Front. Many had already left the party over these previous months. And there are reasons for that. We have already spoken about them in general today. But I must say that the differences in the

Communist Party itself were a powerful hindrance to it in its election campaign. We are now reaping their consequences. Interparty fighting continues to impede us and to divert attention from the processes which may have an adverse effect on Estonia's political and social life and economy. You cannot help feeling that it is not ideological differences which move some of our political "fighters" but rather their own ambitions. After all we must always bear in mind that thousands of communists stand behind us. Bear it in mind and not deceive them.

[Teterin] And a last question, Enn Augustovich. Your career in the official chronicle of the new CPSU Central Committee Politburo fitted into a few lines. What could you add to what has been said—what are your passions and interests, what ideals to you value above all?

[Sillari] Somehow it is hard to talk of passions and interests. I do not remember the last time I had a vacation, it is two years since I was on leave. My free days are grievously few. But if I do have free days, then they are taken up with nature. It calms me, gives me strength, charges me up. I love our Estonian nature, quiet, undemonstrative, subdued... I like to go camping on islands, with the forest all around me. And the sea... My children, a son and a daughter, and my wife share this passion of mine.

As for ideals, I would put decency first. Decency and honesty—in politics and in human relations. Always and in everything... And despite everything.

Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium Views Borders

LD2908110490 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] There is perhaps no longer any doubt that one way out of our state of economic crisis is to privitize economy and to develop private ownership. This is what was discussed at the Republic of Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium session. Raul Malk reports:

[Malk] [passage omitted] The Christian-Democratic deputy group proposed to annul two decrees of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium which on 18 January 1945 formulated the altering of state borders of Estonia and Russia. After lengthy discussion it was learned that it was a case of infringement of what had been set down in the Tartu Peace Treaty. Border issues must be resolved in talks with both the USSR and the Russian Federation, and for this reason any kind of abrupt undertakings would be inappropriate now. A commission will be formed to investigate border matters.

The next Supreme Soviet Presidium session will take place on 7 September.

Estonian Independence Party Chairman on Tasks

LD2808140690 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonia 1700 GMT 26 Aug 90

[Interview with Lagle Parek, chairman of the Estonian National Independence Party (ENIP), by correspondent Hubert Veldermann, at the ENIP assembly—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Veldermann] The third assembly of the ENIP has been taking place at the Sakala Center [in Tallinn] for two days. And now the time has come for the assembly to finish its work: a report was heard, the Estonian political situation was analyzed, and—what is most important—a program was adopted. And finally, also a declaration. Mrs. Lagle Parek, you were reelected as chairman of the ENIP. Congratulations!

[Parek] Thank you.

[Veldermann] But now about the work done at the assembly. What would you highlight of your new program?

[Parek] Our name—the National Independence Party—with the accent on the national; that is, the accent rests on the national culture. We elaborated the concept of national culture for ourselves. It is not only, say, literature and art but it is also a way of life; it is the daily life, it is everything that concerns us, it is also economy—they are all parts of the national culture.

(?Second), a condemnation of the communist, or the marxist, world outlook—or reprobation. [This means] forbidding the Communist Party of Estonia to continue. This is not to say that at some point Communists will be persecuted in the Republic of Estonia or anything else of the kind. But this Communist Party in Estonia, which is responsible for the whole 50-year-long fate of our people, this party has to stop its activity here. This is our stand. And this also went through the declaration. It was very characteristic that immediately when we left this point out of the declaration the floor demanded that it be reinstated. These are two very important directions of course, let alone what we have always stressed: that is, that the Republic of Estonia has indeed come into being on the basis of legal continuation.

[Veldermann] Your program also emphasizes—and you call it your primary task as well as your hardest task—putting an end to the existence of the occupation army on Estonian territory.

[Parek] Yes, of course. Only then we can talk of the actual Republic of Estonia because present life and events in our daily life are all in fact dependent on the army. And for this reason we demand indeed that in the talks with Moscow, well, Moscow must recognize that we are occupied. We cannot in any other way demand that the forces are withdrawn because we cannot get rid of them by force. And of course, we consider it to be of primary importance to start an internal fight against the occupation forces. We will try to start creating a public opinion which will condemn any encouragement to the existence of the army here, because after all, they eat the bread baked at our bread-baking combines; their basic needs are met with things produced in Estonia. If economic independence is to emerge to a certain degree in our establishments, then each establishment must resolve this issue morally for itself: Will it help the Soviet Army to exist in Estonia or not? It is indeed the most important thing to develop public thinking. Estonian society has indeed now arrived at a point where public opinion is being considered.

[Veldermann] Are you optimistic after the third assembly, in respect of your party's future?

[Parek] Yes, definitely so. I believe that our radicalism which we displayed this time will have contributed a lot to us, because we can no longer be mild. That time is over. [passage omitted]

Estonian Government Plans To Curtail Speculators

LD2808145490 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 25 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Today's republican government session was chaired by Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar. At the briefing which followed, Government Councilor Matti Pedak and Ministers Arvo Kuddo and Juri Raidla provided information for journalists.

Speculation under the label of free trade and market economy is rampant in Estonia. It is considered necessary—before starting to combat it—to define the new essence of speculation as a crime. It is intended to improve legislation, to make administrative punishment and perhaps also criminal punishment harsher. In the course of this year both the eastern and southern borders of Estonia will probably be closed and the activity of speculators will be restricted. [passage omitted]

Baltic Leaders Appeal to Olympic Committee

LD2908004390 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Report by Edvinas Butkus]

[Text] The Supreme Council chairmen of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia have sent a letter to the president of the International Olympic Committee, Juan Samaranch, in which they ask for his support of the goals of the Olympic Committees of these countries to restore their International Olympic Committee membership.

The letter explains how up to 1940, the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian Olympic Committees were members of the International Committee and had sent the athletes of their countries to Olympic competitions.

Having occupied Lithuania in 1940, the Soviet Union discontinued not only the activity of the Baltic state's governments but also that of the various organizations, including that of the Olympic Committees.

Not a single one of the three Olympic Committees had granted authorization to the Soviet Olympic Committee to represent these organizations in the international arena, notes the letter by the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian parliament leaders.

A meeting between Juan Samaranch and leaders of the Olympic Committees of the three Baltic states and the Soviet Union is expected to take place at Lausanne the day after tomorrow.

Baltic Civil Defense Exercises 'Unsanctioned'

LD2908111190 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] The following announcement has arrived from TASS:

According to a plan for headquarters' and forces' training, at the end of August and the beginning of September this year a civil defense headquarters exercise will be organized in the Baltic Military District. In the course of the exercise it is envisaged that army units points of command and communications and procurement subunits will be relocated in the whole district. The telegram was signed by Baltic Military District leaders.

Evidently the Baltic Military District leadership does not regard our Supreme Soviet 8 May 1990 decree as relevant and all other normative acts which deal with the inependence and integrity of the Republic of Estonia. Today at 1505 Rein Tamme, Supreme Soviet State Defense Committee chairman, said that neither the Supreme Soviet nor its presidium were approached with an application to obtain permission to organize (?selected) exercises. Consequently civil defense headquarters' exercises serve as another unsanctioned demonstration of force by the Soviet Army. I think that we will simply not pay attention to this commotion.

Baltic Central Bank Leaders Urge Independence

LD2808125490 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1005 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Summary] LIETUVOS AIDAS, a government newspaper, reports that representatives of independent central banks of the Baltic countries met in a small town near Tallinn, Estonia. They were Karlis Saks, president of the Latvian Bank; Vilius Baldysis, chairman of the Directorate of Lithuanian Banks; and Rein Osttsatson, president of the Estonian Bank.

The leaders of the banks unanimously agreed that on the road to independence the problems of the three banks are similar. They supported the idea that central banks should be independent of USSR banks, as well as of their own governments, and called for the introduction of the republics' own currency, which would protect the economy of the republics.

RSFSR

Reportage Continues on Yeltsin's Russian Tour

More on Sakhalin Oblast Tour

PM2808142190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Yuriy Balakirev under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Meetings on Islands"]

[Excerpts] Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk—In the past three days, B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, has visited two islands and seven cities and settlements in Sakhalin Oblast. [passage omitted]

At a meeting with Sakhalin people in the oblast center on Friday evening, B.N. Yeltsin summed up some of his observations and impressions. In particular, he spoke about the need for a social emphasis: At present only 20 percent of capital investments are spent on the nonproduction sphere in the oblast—less than the average for Russia. Things must be speeded up not only for the mainland but for the island, too. The oblast soviet, B.N. Yeltsin emphasized, has still not really taken the entire economy into its hands and has still not become truly the supreme organ of power on the islands.

At a meeting with miners, B.N. Yeltsin reacted sharply to the USSR President's Decree of 23 August, which he regarded as an encroachment on Russia's sovereignty. At the oblast aktiv in the evening, B.N. Yeltsin said in reply to questions that we see both foreign currency and gold leaving Russia. And we do not know through which channels, where, to whom, or how much. Hundreds of tonnes are being shipped out without a decision from the RSFSR Supreme Soviet or the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. It is necessary to create a special deputies' commission, he said, to examine all this thoroughly and report to the people, telling them how much has been exported, where it has gone, and for what purpose. [passage omitted]

Sakhalin Tour Concludes

PM2808143390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by special correspondent A. Ryabov: "Learning to be the Boss"]

[Text] Sakhalin Oblast—The last day of B.N. Yeltsin's stay in Sakhalin Oblast began with a morning radio linkup with Pacific Ocean fishing ships. The entire fishing fleet—around 500 crews—joined the linkup.

The state of the fleet is best described by the following data. Some 62 percent of the ships are antiquated and in four or five years' time the Far East crews may have nothing to catch fish on or with. No subsidies are forthcoming. But soon all the resources will be in the hands of the producers themselves, according to B.N. Yeltsin. So they must learn to be enterprising and independent. Nevertheless, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet chairman assured the radio linkup participants, the government will do what it can to help the Far East fishermen right now.

Then B.N. Yeltsin visited the settlement of Bykovo, where he met with the labor collective of the "Dolinskaya" Mine. As is known, the Sakhalin coal miners were among those behind the miners' actions. But the strikes had no real effect—there have been no appreciable improvements since.

In the city of Dolinsk B.N. Yeltsin familiarized himself with the work of a paper and pulp plant and visited the "Sinegorye" sanatorium.

In the afternoon the chairman of the Russian parliament went to the Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk city hospital and walked round several wards. In the evening there was a meeting with representatives of labor collectives and deputies and leaders of local soviets in Sakhalin Oblast, with servicemen and sailors of the Pacific Ocean Fleet, and with war and labor veterans.

Tour Culminates in Kamchatka

PM2908090590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Meetings at the Edge of Russia"]

[Text] Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, 25 Aug—Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman B.N. Yeltsin flew into Kamchatka today, completing his trip through Siberia and the Far East. He was surrounded on the tarmac by oblast leaders, deputies, journalists, and others. An impromptu press conference took place there.

Clearly the tiredness built up during the days of his long trip were telling and B.N. Yeltsin declined the proposed itinerary for the first day, which envisaged his visiting several enterprises. Instead he set off for a viewing platform from where the whole of the city stretched along the banks of Avacha Bay is clearly visible.

By the end of Saturday the Russian Supreme Soviet chairman had visited two food stores in new residential districts of the oblast center. From conversations with inhabitants and after inspecting the counters B.N. Yeltsin clearly managed to obtain an idea of the food situation in the oblast.

B.N. Yeltsin's continuing tour around Kamchatka promises to be packed. He intends to fly by helicopter to the most attractive spots on the peninsula, where two important problems intermingle: the preservation of the vulnerable Kamchatka environment and the potential for organizing international tourism.

Submariners Meet Yeltsin

PM2808135190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Aug 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by Captain Second Rank M. Lukanin: "Meeting With Military Seamen"]

[Text] On Sunday B. Yeltsin, who is in Kamchatka, visited the garrison of nuclear submarine sailors. Here he viewed the submariners' museum of combat glory and talked with the settlement's inhabitants. Having donned the special "radioactive safety" clothing, commonly referred to as "RB," Boris Nikolayevich descended into the control room of a multiple-purpose nuclear submarine. The ship's commander, Captain First Rank S. Maksimov, described the nuclear submarine's equipment and combat potential to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet chairman.

In particular B. Yeltsin followed with great interest the actions of the submarine's combat crew on the prelaunch procedures for the hypothetical launch of missiles and observed how the crew endures psychological stress during voyages.

There were also questions for Boris Nikolayevich. Thus, political worker Captain Second Rank G. Oleynik asked him to express his view of the problem of republican military formations and the Russian leadership's attitude toward the matter. "There is no justification for dividing the army into national compartments. That is the path toward the collapse of the Armed Forces and the Soviet Union in general," the head of the RSFSR parliament answered unequivocally. "Russia hands over defense matters to the management of the Union. But I believe that we must think about the gradual, progressive transition to a professional army."

To a question from your KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent as to what impression the military seamen had made on him Boris Nikolayevich said: "If we are speaking of the ship and its arms, the achievements of supreme technical intellect are concentrated here. To judge by the submariners' morale, and they are a multinational collective, the crew is a harmonious one. It seems to me that there is order here. I do not support those who today are fueling unhealthy feelings with regard to the military—who are steamrollering the army, so to speak. When I am told that military establishments are preventing the region's full economic development, I reply that the military have their own serious arguments. Questions of dovetailing the interests of the military and national economic departments and local soviets can be settled on a calm basis."

Boris Nikolayevich was photographed with the seamen on the pier and, accepting a traditional navy souvenir—a striped vest—from the submariners, he promised: "I shall wear it to the forthcoming Supreme Soviet session."

On the evening of 27 August B. Yeltsin left Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy for Moscow.

Further on Kamchatka Visit

PM2808124990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by "special correspondent" A. Ryabov: "Frontiers of Renewal"]

[Text] Kamchatka Oblast—Last Sunday and Monday B.N. Yeltsin continued his familiarization with the Kamchatka peninsula. At a meeting with local soviet people's deputies and representatives of labor collectives and the public, the head of parliament described the complex situation in which the new Russian government is having to defend the republic's sovereignty. It is essential, he stressed, to overturn the existing command pyramid in such a way as to ensure that the formation of power proceeds from the bottom to the top. The local soviets must decide for themselves what rights to delegate to higher bodies. Here, however, important significance attaches to the unconditional fulfillment of the laws adopted by the Russian parliament and to the universal consolidation of the discipline and responsibility of the leaders of local organs of power.

The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] parliament, B.N. Yeltsin noted, will continue to steer a course toward the formation of a strong and independent Russian statehood and to defend the interests of Russians at any level, including through its representative in the United Nations.

A special place in the speech by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman was devoted to the problems and prospects of the development of Kamchatka Oblast. The transition to the status of a zone of free economic enterprise will help make a leap in their solution.

There was also a meeting with people's deputies from the Koryak Autonomous Okrug, which is part of Kamchatka Oblast.

On Monday B.N. Yeltsin visited the "Kamchatstroy" Association's house construction combined and the Petropavlovsk fish cannery, met with Pacific seamen, and visited the Yelizovskiy Rayon orphanage.

Yesterday evening B.N. Yeltsin left Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy for Moscow.

Yeltsin Interviewed on Problems

LD2808184190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] As we have already reported, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, finished his working visit around the country. Our correspondent, Sergey Omelchenko, interviewed Yeltsin on the way from Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy to Moscow. Listen to the recording:

[Begin recording] [Omelchenko] Boris Nikolayevich, what are your most vivid impressions of this trip?

[Yeltsin] My positively vivid impressions are of people, nature, the desire to work, initiative. The most negatively vivid impression that I have is the incredible backwardness of the social sphere—and the further it is from Moscow, the worse. Second—this applies especialy to rayons of Bashkiriya, Tatariya, Kuzbass, Komi, Vorkuta—oversaturation by industry, which is not at all justified, especially by the chemical industry. And all this is to the detriment of social issues. The main thing is that in a good many regions it will not be possible in the future to restore the environment. That is to say, ecological issues—loud issues. I think that there is unfairness toward the people in such issues as paying taxes, the provision of pensions, and issues of transport fees. After all, that is the Far East. We have already spent nine hours flying from there. The attitude toward fishermen, sailors, the obvious burdening by the military and industrial complex—especially in Maritime Kray and Kamchatka. [as received]

[Omelchenko] Boris Nikolayevich, if we are to speak about the ecological problems that face Russia today, could you tell us what their solutions are: do those enterprises have to be withdrawn, liquidated, closed—or can something else be done to them, like changing their nature?

[Yeltsin] I think there is no single remedy for all enterprises and for all regions. Some enterprises have to be closed, and the production of, let us say, pesticides and so on, has to be stopped—because we do not know how to refine technological waste and because we poison not just the environment but also the people, who live between six and eight years fewer compared to the average length of life in Russia. It is a crime against the people.

Otherwise, where the technology exists, purification equipment can be installed quite quickly. Perhaps somewhere local, non-global installations can be built—yes, local—and they would sharply reduce the emissions inteo the atmosphere and water.

Third, if we do not have the technology, it is sufficient to give the intiative to local soviets and enterprises, so that they can do it themselves—I have seen for myself that they can—by selling part of their output abroad for foreign currency: they can buy new technologies and install them for purification.

[Omelchenko] Do you think, after your tour, that the work of the session of the Supreme Soviet should be corrected where beneficial?

[Yeltsin] Yes, and a number of questions should be corrected that are already on the agenda of the second session of the Supreme Soviet of Russia, which starts on 3 September. That will certainly concern the autonomy of the enterprises, and the order of examination and adoption of particular laws. The order must be changed, and laws must quickly be adopted to untie the hands of local soviets and enterprises, so that they might themselves quickly take measures to stop all these outrages and somehow improve the conditions in which people live, take measures to improve food supplies, because I would say this matter is even worse than the average for Russia.

[Omelchenko] And have you promised the fishermen that their problems will be examined, too?

[Yeltsin] That was in general concept, too. I said that the second extraordinary RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies would examine the agrarian question: in other words, questions of food and including fishermen's problems. [end recording]

Text of Gorbachev's Message to Kalmyk ASSR

PM2808114390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[M. Gorbachev message to Kalmyk ASSR]

[Text] To the Kalmyk Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] Supreme Soviet.

Cordial congratulations to the Kalmyk people and all working people of Kalmykia on the 550th anniversary of the "Dzhangar" epic.

"Dzhangar," which stands alongside the "Odyssey" and the "Lay of Igor's Campaign," "Manas" and "The Knight in the Panther's Skin," expresses the long-held aspirations of the Kalmyks and embodies the best traits of their national character.

The heroes of the epic poem, warriors and philosophers, architects and horseherds, are vehicles for lofty morality and noble thoughts. For that reason the bright and optimistic poem, created by the national genius, has always been an encouragement for the Kalmyk people—in their wanderings amid the vast expanses of Asia, in the grim years of czarism, and in the tragic period of Stalinist exile from their native steppes.

"Dzhangar" asserts the victory of good over evil. I wish you happiness and good things, dear friends, successes in perestroyka, and the establishment of a new, free, and happy life in your homeland, in harmony with the other peoples.

[Signed] USSR President M. Gorbachev

RSFSR Deputy Cited on Baltic Consult Actions

LD2808111790 Moscow TASS in English 1101 GMT 28 Aug 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Lev Aksenov]

[Text] Moscow August 28 TASS—"Direct talks between Russia and other constituent republics about bilateral documents laying down the principles of political relationship have been successful," a deputy of the Russian Federation parliament told TASS.

These contacts represent a fundamentally new element in federal relations, Fedor Shelov-Kovedyayev, chairman of the Russian parliament subcommittee on inter-republican relations, said here today.

"The first consultations were held with the Baltic republics," he said. "Draft joint documents have been elaborated. As regards Latvia and Estonia, these are interstate treaties, while the Lithuanian side inclines towards signing a joint declaration."

Much attention during preliminary consultations, Shelov-Kovedyayev said, was paid to the state status of the sides and human rights. Naturally economic issues also came up and the sides expressed similar views. As a result they have worked out common attitudes on questions of status and human rights, Shelov-Kovedyayev said.

"Of course no complete understanding has been reached, but negotiations will continue after provisional results are submitted to the Russian parliament and its presidium. So far the consultations have been a success, with the partners showing a readiness to meet each other halfway, to take the opportunity to tackly contentious issues. So I am optimistic about the future," the deputy continued.

Shelov-Kovedyayev said similar consultations will be held with Moldavian representatives within the next few days. They have been already held with representatives of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and other constituent republics.

Such talks "enrich political life and help attain better cooperation between the republics."

Russian Minister Sees Commonwealth Future

PM2808153590 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 23 Aug 90 p 8

[Interview with RSFSR Justice Minister Nikolay Federov by Sigrid Leijonhufvud on 22 August in Stockholm: "It Was Right To Let the Hijacker Stay"]

[Text] "I take a very critical view of conditions in the Soviet Union as far as human rights are concerned," said RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Justice Minister Nikolay Federov, who is this week visiting Stockholm.

"Consequently, both as justice minister and as a member of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, I fully understand the Swedish Supreme Court's latest decision not to extradite the third hijacker," added the 32-year-old doctor of law, who on 7 June received RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin's offer to take up two days later the post of justice minister of the largest of the 15 federal republics.

In the Yeltsin tradition the young justice minister did not mince words when, through an accompanying interpreter from the Foreign Ministry in Moscow, he gave an account of the unsatisfactory aspects of a legal system which he wants to reform. Even though Federov thinks that in the massive RSFSR, where 160 million of the Soviet Union's 280 million citizens live, it is impossible to copy the Swedish legal system, for example, he is in Stockholm to gather impressions and ideas for the legal and court reforms which will be implemented in Russia.

On Tuesday [21 August] Federov met with Justice Minister Laila Freivalds. Goran Regner, head of the Legal Secretariat, was among those also present.

"We do not usually make public any information about this type of talks," Regner said after the meeting. He said, however, that the talks did not touch at all on the hijacking cases or the conditions which prevail in Soviet prisons.

But Nikolay Federov did not shy away from that issue when he received SVENSKA DAGBLADET yesterday morning.

"It is obvious that we do not have a rule-of-law state," Federov said emphatically, damning the prevailing legal system in the Soviet Union and the increasingly independent federal republics, including Russia.

His assessment is in striking contrast to what acting Justice Minister Mona Sahlin said at the time of the extraditions of the first two hijackers.

Sahlin said that it was not Sweden's place to decide whether the Soviet Union is a rule-of-law state. But she though it sufficient that those extradited are treated in a way which is consistent with Sweden's concept of justice.

But the justice minister from Russia takes a much more critical view.

"In our system it is the whims of officials which rule—not the law," he said, describing the prisons in the Soviet Union as "wild places."

"In 99 cases out of 100, those who end up in prison become professional criminals. The prisons in the Soviet Union are not adapted to rehabilitation and education."

[Leijonhufvud] But the Swedish Government has the idea that in recent years you have reformed the system...

"No, we have done practically nothing at all to improve the prisons. That is why there is a need to change the system from the ground up," the justice minister said, pointing to political, economic, and social factors as the reason from the lack of respect for human rights.

According to the Russian justice minister, anyone wanting to gain an insight into the underlying causes should read the 19th century writer, Aleksandr Pushkin. It was Pushkin's view that Asiatic culture had had a great effect on the concept of justice in the old Russia. Federov in turn thinks that this view has basically survived.

[Leijonhufvud] From your criticism can we draw the conclusion that it was wrong to extradite the first two hijackers?

"That is a complicated question," the justice minister said, "since the extraditions could possibly deter others from jeopardizing the lives of others.

"More people could come up with the same idiot idea if there is a good chance that they will not be extradited."

Federov did not want to go into any detail about what conclusions Sweden should draw, but for his own part he takes the view that the cases simply underline the need for reform of the Soviet Union's own system so that it fulfills the requirements of a rule-of-law state.

This will happen in varying degrees in the increasingly autonomous federal republics, the justice minister predicted, reminding me that Russia has taken the political and constitutional decisions which mean state sovereignty.

The independence process is in full swing, he asserted.

"We now have a growing number of ever deeper direct contacts with other republics without the interference of central government in Moscow. Agreements are being signed between the republics and contacts are beginning with a number of foreign states."

[Leijonhufvud] Does this mean, for example, that Russia will become an independent country like Sweden?

"Yes, to a certain extent. When the Soviet empire collapses we will be independent republics held together more or less in the same loose way as the British Commonwealth."

However, he believes that the Baltic republics will become wholly sovereign states.

"Russia has already recognized in practice Lithuania's declaration of independence," he said. Political sovereignty for the Baltic states does not alarm Federov, who thinks that economic interests will see to it that these states "remain our friends."

According to Nikolay Federov, the independence process is more advanced than people in the West have generally realized. It will not be many years before the process is complete and the construction of a civilized democratic society can begin.

"The government in Moscow is already without authority," he asserted, directing sharp criticism against Mikhail Gorbachev, who was nevertheless the man who, through his promises of reform, caused Federov, the young university teacher, to involve himself in politics and win election to the Supreme Soviet in 1988.

"Gorbachev has great prestige out in the world. It is presumably the changes in foreign policy that are keeping him in power. Within the Soviet Union and in Russia in particular his authority has, however, been undermined because none of his promises in the field of domestic policy has been kept. Today Gorbachev would not win more than 10 percent of the votes in my own electoral district.

"Of course the crisis in the economy and the empty shelves in the stores are what worry people most. But Gorbachev has also undermined his authority by choosing the wrong advisers. Chief ideologist Vadim Medvedev is one example among many in the leadership whose knowledge does not come up to scratch.

"Also, Gorbachev has demolished some parts of the old system which were good. The growing nationalism is an example of new dangers. The campaign against alcohol abuse led to a rapid increase in organized crime and to drug abuse at the same time as billions were lost when state distilleries and vineyards were closed."

[Leijonhufvud] Could you have voiced such views 10 years ago and have remained unpunished?

"I said similar things to my students at the university. This led the KGB to come to my home and declare quite politely that I must stop, but I was allowed to keep my post."

Even thought the KGB is one of the few forces still holding the Soviet empire together, Nikolay Federov is convinced that it cannot halt developments.

"There are also many intelligent KGB men we can keep and use for better things in the more distant future," he was saying when we suddenly had to break off for the justice minister to be able to arrive on time for a meeting with the prosecutor general.

Government Presidium Session Held 24 Aug

PM2808141390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers"]

[Text] At the 24 August session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Presidium attention was focused on questions of government preparations for the upcoming RSFSR Supreme Soviet session. It was noted that in the next few days the government should finish elaborating its approach vis-a-vis the list of priority legislative acts which are to be examined at the session and which, when put together, would form a comprehensive basis for Russia's switch to a market economy. As RSFSR Council of Ministers Chairman I.S. Silayev, chairing the session, stressed, the government should be guided by the fact that a new concept for a switch to the market will be adopted. A working group is currently completing work on it in accordance with M.S. Gorbachev's instructions.

During the discussion many speakers made a point of mentioning that priority consideration must be given to legislative acts guaranteeing Russian sovereignty, above all economic, and making it possible to embark on radical economic reform in the interests of a Russian renaissance. The common view was expressed that it is necessary to deepen practical collaboration between the RSFSR Council of Ministers and committees and commissions of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet in the preparation of all documents for the upcoming session.

RSFSR Party Draft Action Program Published

90UN2696A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Aug 90 Second Edition pp 1, 2

["Draft Action Program of the Communist Party of the RSFSR"]

[Text] *Comrade Communists, working people of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]!*

The draft action program of the Communist Party of the RSFSR published below was prepared on the basis of the CPSU Program Statement and Rules and other documents of the 28th CPSU Congress and in development of their ideas. It accumulates the opinions of the delegates to the 28th party congress and the Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of the RSFSR and numerous proposals of the party organizations and Communists.

The draft was drawn up by a preparatory committee, in whose working groups members of the Central Committees of the CPSU and the RSFSR Communist Party, delegates to the 28th party congress, and representatives of the "Communists of Russia" group of deputies of the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies, the Initiating Congress of Communists of Russia, the Democratic Platform in the CPSU Reformer Communist Section, the Marxist Platform in the CPSU, and the scientific and artistic community participated.

It will be necessary to discuss the proposed draft action program of the Communists of the RSFSR comprehensively and in depth in the party organizations, enrich its content with regard for the positions, views, and approaches of the workers, peasants, intelligentsia, servicemen, women, youth, and veterans, and with regard for the proposals examine it at the second stage of the Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of the RSFSR.

The proposed draft was approved, in the main, at a meeting of members of the Communist Party of the RSFSR Central Committee.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR is coming into being under the most complex conditions. The republic, like the whole country, is experiencing a profound economic, political, and spiritual crisis caused by the long domination of the administrative-bureaucratic system.

The revolutionary renewal of society has encountered unprecedented problems and a sharp exacerbation of the accumulated contradictions and difficulties. This has also been to a considerable extent the result of miscalculations and mistakes in the course of perestroyka itself. Many of its practical steps have not been based on a scientifically substantiated program, have been inconsistent, and have left in the background the socialist essence and focus of perestroyka. Antisocialist and anticommunist movements that have arisen have accommodated to it.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR is a very large internation detachment composed of the Communists of 130 nationalities. It is an inalienable part of the CPSU and operates in accordance with its program documents and rules.

At the same time, however, the Communist Party of the RSFSR deems it expedient to also have its own action program conditioned by the specific features and actual singularities of the Russian Federation.

In the Socioeconomic Sphere

The Communists of the Russian Federation consider the main goal of the period immediately ahead a stabilization of the people's living standard and, subsequently, a rise in it based on the conscious labor of the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia and the efficient use of the economic and intellectual potential and the very rich raw material resources of the republic.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR supports and will uphold the socialist thrust of the transition to a controlled market economy and consistently implement the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress concerning the conversion of ownership relations and the equal development of their diverse forms excluding man's exploitation of man.

Supplement of the Marxist Platform and Initiating Congress of the Communists of Russia Organizing Bureau

The Communists of the republic consider impermissible the arbitrary imposition of any forms of ownership and the total denationalization of state ownership, for which a number of political parties operating in Russia is calling. Nor will attempts under the cover of an appeal for the diversity of forms of ownership to reanimate private capitalist ownership find support among the Communists.

The fundamental position of Russia's Communists consists of the need to preserve the leading position in the economic structure of renovating socialism of state ownership of the means of production.

The Communists are convinced that democratically converted forms of management based on state ownership will prove their high efficiency, responsiveness to the latest achievements of world scientific-technological progress, and a capacity for realizing man's economic interests.

We are for the formation of an efficient and flexible mechanism of state administration providing together with legal and financial-credit regulators for the active use of planning and its fundamental restructuring and democratization and the conversion of the work force in practice into independent creators of the plans. Planning should not forfeit its role in determination of the goals, priorities, and reference points of the comprehensive development of the national economy of the republic and its national-state, national-territorial, and administrative-territorial formations.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR intends employing all means of propaganda influence to explain the need for economic reform and its prospects, to overcome the prejudice against the market, and to combat dependent sentiments.

Supplement of the Marxist Platform and Initiating Congress of the Communists of Russia Organizing Bureau

The Communists must not allow transition to the market to legitimize social injustice. They will counteract the introduction of a private capital market leading to unearned income on capital and the sale of shares to persons who are not members of labor collectives and also the creation of a hired manpower market, which makes mass unemployment inevitable.

We consider impermissible the introduction of free prices under conditions of the imbalance of the economy, which could lead to increased inflation and an exacerbation of the economic crisis.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR considers a paramount task of its policy the establishment of social justice and the authority of honest, conscientious labor. The Communists of the Russian Federation will struggle uncompromisingly against the growing property and social stratification of the population on a nonlabor basis.

The party will seek official guarantees to the working people in the sphere of employment, accessibility to professional training and retraining, and the necessary level of material support for a period of temporary unemployment; and emphatically support the assurance of material sufficiency and social benefits primarily for invalids, pensioners, large families, and other inadequately protected strata of the population, and a strengthening of the social safeguards for workers living in areas of the Far North, Siberia, and the Far East.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR is for the real economic independence of the Russian Federation, the development of self-government at all levels, and the broad rights and full responsibility of the Soviets of People's Deputies in the solution of vitally important problems. We consider expedient the creation of a special republic fund for equalization of the economic and social development of the regions.

Russia's Communists advocate an accelerated increase in the production of consumer goods and the rendering of services based on structural changes in the economy, an expansion of the share of the consumer sector in it, and the conversion of defense industry; and a sharp increase in the amount of housing construction thanks to a redistribution of financial and material-technical resources from the production to the housing sphere and the use of the resources of enterprises, public organizations, and the population's private savings.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR supports an extension of the assistance of the state and the local soviets in providing accommodation for invalids, war and labor veterans, the families of those who have died in line of duty and families of servicemen, and also teachers, doctors, people working in science and culture, large families, and residents moved from the zone affected by the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR will contribute to the extensive and equal participation of the republic's economy in the international division and cooperation of labor and its incorporation in the world market, the creation of joint ventures, the formation of open economic zones, and the development of the direct international relations of all commodity producers, given the safeguarding of the interests and legitimate rights of the population of the republic.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR believes that it is essential together with the accomplishment of long-term goals to immediately draw up and implement urgent anticrisis measures, which will make it possible to create the economic conditions conducive to a transition to a normally functioning consumer goods, services, and producer goods market.

Position on this question of the Marxist Platform and the Initiating Congress of the Communists of Russia Organizing Bureau

Essential together with the directions of the surmounting of the deficit of the national republic budget envisaged by the government and proceeding from world practice are:

the establishment of financial control over revenue, including the introduction of single named accounts in a savings bank, the submittal of a declaration on income in excess of R10,000 a year, and a tightening of liability for the distortion of income information;

the elimination of a substantial proportion of the surplus money supply by way of monetary reform aimed against the shadow economy and unearned income;

the introduction of a progressive inheritance tax;

the closing of the channels of the "transfer" of money from the noncash to the cash sphere;

the restoration and tightening for a period of emergency of wholesale and retail price control, including the establishment of maximum prices for cooperative and market trade. The use for such control of all means available to the government and public organizations.

The restructuring in the economy must not lead to the replacement of one "elite" stratum—the voluntarist-bureaucratic apparatus—by another whose power is based on the strength of private capital. Those who live by their labor are the social base of perestroyka. We are for an uncompromising struggle against the progressing property and social stratification of the population on an unearned basis.

The result of perestroyka should be a growth of the living standard of all working people, not the intensifying property and social polarization of society.

Alternative version of the preceding part of the section "In the Sphere of Socioeconomic Policy" of the Democratic Platform in the CPSU Reformer Communists Section

The Communist Party of the RSFSR supports the transition being effected in the country and the republic toward a controlled market economy. The Communists will seek to ensure during this transition that the state guarantee:

a set of measures preventing a decline in the living standard of all categories of the population and making it possible in the future to achieve a rise in them;

an effective mechanism of the protection of the working people in the sphere of employment, including a system of vocational training and retraining, conditions for the migration of manpower, and a guaranteed level of support for the period of retraining or temporary unemployment;

protection of the interests of the needy categories of the population, including a guaranteed minimum wage.

The Communist Party advocates the equal development and functioning of different forms of ownership and will counter the directive imposition of the priority of any one of them.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR will contribute to practical measures pertaining to the introduction of market relations. Its organizations and bodies do not intend to guide the economy directly. However, the pace and ultimate success of the emergence from the crisis will depend on the Communists to a considerable extent. The party intends to use its propaganda potential for an explanation of the need for economic reform and its prospects, for overcoming the prejudice against the market, and for combating the dependent sentiments which have deeply penetrated all strata of society.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR will actively formulate modern socioeconomic policy and implement it by means of the Communists working in production and in the organs of people's power and economic administration; and consider, study, and elaborate alternative versions of economic decisions. We consider it necessary to conduct extensive public discussion, debate in the party included, on the proposed draft programs of transition to the market. We will insist on their adoption by way of public referendum.

On the agrarian issue. The Communist Party of the RSFSR will seek a fundamental improvement in the socioeconomic position of rural inhabitants.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR Central Committee and the "Communists of Russia" group of deputies will participate actively in the elaboration of bills on land, renting, and leasing relations in the RSFSR, the principles of economic relations between town and country, social protection and care of the health of the rural population, the development of the consumer cooperative societies and other issues. We set the goal of the elaboration and fulfillment of a government program of the social rearrangement of the countryside, primarily the non-Chernozem zone, the North, Siberia, and the Far East. The supply of gas and power and the building of motor roads in rural localities should be undertaken by the state, in the main.

We advocate the multiple structure of the rural economy and the right of the peasants themselves to determine the forms of the organization of production and equal economic conditions for the collective and state farms, cooperatives, and individual peasant farms. We will strive to ensure that the peasant always be the master of his labor and will contribute to the development of the peasant homesteads and orchard-truck garden cooperatives and the endowment with land of all who are capable of making efficient use of it for the production of foodstuffs. The participation of the outfits of the cities and industrial centers in the rendering of diverse assistance to the countryside is a vital necessity at the present time.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR supports the goals and tasks of the RSFSR Agrarian Union and calls on all Communists to cooperate closely with its bodies locally and contribute to the defense of the peasants' interests and the development of the entire agroindustrial complex, and believes that economic relations between industry and agricultural production should be built on an equivalent basis.

In nature-conservation activity. It is the moral and political duty of the Communists to participate actively in the movement for the rational use and restoration of the natural resources of the Russian Federation and the creation of agreeable habitable surroundings for man.

We support a fundamental updating of ecological legislation, the elaboration of an economic mechanism of the use of nature, and the introduction of the public expert appraisal of economic-engineering projects.

The Communist Party supports a Union-republic program of the elimination of the consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe in Bryansk, Kaluga, Orel, Ryazan, Smolensk, Tula, Kursk, Lipetsk, Belgorod, Voronezh, and other oblasts.

The Communists will participate actively in the implementation of measures of the RSFSR Government pertaining to a recovery of the ecological situation in the

Kalmyk Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, in the Urals and Kuzbass, in the areas of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly and the basins of the rivers Volga, Ob, and Amur, Lake Ladoga and Lake Baykal, the Black, Caspian, and Baltic Seas, and the areas where the small peoples of the North live.

In the Sphere of Culture, Science, and Education

The upsurge of culture and concern for the moral health of the people and realization of the republic's intellectual potential in the interests of all its citizens will be priority areas of the policy of the Communist Party of the RSFSR.

The party organizations will do everything possible for the development of the distinctive, multinational culture, folk art, the preservation and restoration of the historical and cultural monuments of all the peoples of the Russian Federation, and the development of book publishing.

We are for freedom of creativity, a solicitous attitude toward talent and the utmost moral and material support for it. The Communist Party intends establishing special funds, prizes, and scholarships stimulating the development of culture, art, and science, and the formation of young talent.

The Communists will make a specific contribution to the elaboration and realization of programs of the social and cultural revival of small towns and villages and an increase in the cultural potential primarily of the non-Chernozem region, Siberia, and the Far East. We will contribute to the creation of cultural-national centers and societies for the spiritual mutual enrichment of the cultures of all peoples, given a particularly solicitous attitude toward the culture, language, and daily round of the small peoples of the RSFSR.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR will participate in the shaping of scientific policy in the republic; champion the democratization of scientific activity and the surmounting of the fragmentation of academy, higher educational institution, sectoral, and plant science; and act in defense of science against all forms of diktat and in support of the preservation of copyright and intellectual property. It supports the re-formation of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

We are for a fundamental improvement in the Union and international scientific-technological relations of the RSFSR for the purpose of an increase in domestic scientific potential.

Communists of the RSFSR support a strengthening of the republic's sovereignty in the sphere of public education and its connection with sources of national culture, the development of the national school, and a broadening of the independence and the extensive use of various types of educational institutions.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR advocates the priority financing of culture, science, and education from the republic and local budgets and the attraction of the resources of enterprises, cooperatives, and public, charitable, and other foundations, and also the use to this end of the material resources of the CPSU.

The Communists intend striving for an enhancement of the prestige of the profession of worker of culture, scientist, and teacher, an improvement in their work and social conditions, the fair remuneration of teaching, research, and cultural activity, social protection of the people working in the intellectual sphere, and the surmounting of the trend toward a "brain drain" from the country which has come to light.

The Communist Party will go to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet with an initiative concerning the preparation and enactment of laws on public education, science, international scientific-technological relations, cultural policy in the Russian Federation, the artistic unions, and the All-Russia Culture Foundation. The Communists are decisively opposed to the commercialization of culture and art and the implantation of anticulture leading to spiritual devastation and the moral destruction of the personality.

In the Political Sphere

The Communists support the development of the RSFSR as a sovereign state based on the rule of law—an inalienable part of the USSR. They reject a counterpoise of the laws of the republic to all-Union laws; they advocate the sovereignty of the soviets and close cooperation with them.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR will struggle on a democratic basis for the extensive representation of the Communists in the soviets and form in them and in the public organizations party groups (factions), which will present legislative initiatives, carry out the expert appraisal of draft legislative documents, and propose alternative versions. Where members of the CPSU are in a minority, they will perform the role of constructive opposition, supporting decisions which correspond to the needs and interests of the people. The Communists of the Russian Federation are ready for partnership and the coordination of joint actions in the soviets with other parties and movements within the framework of the RSFSR Constitution. We are opposed to the conversion of the soviets into an arena of the settling of political scores, satisfaction of ambitions and small-group interests, and the manifestation of social demagogy. In such situations the Communists will be the sponsors of public actions and protest campaigns and the recall of individual deputies who have failed to justify the people's trust or of the early dissolution of the soviet and the scheduling of new elections.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR will submit for consideration by the highest organs of legislative authority of the republic proposals pertaining to the elaboration and adoption of the following political documents: basic principles of elaboration of the RSFSR Constitution; public referendums on most important questions of the socioeconomic and social and political life of the RSFSR; the RSFSR Constitutional Court; the system of local self-government in the RSFSR; judicial-legal reform; the RSFSR Procuracy; political parties in the RSFSR; state control in the RSFSR; mechanism of the republic's foreign economic activity. Most important bills will be discussed preliminarily in the party organizations and at plenums of the Communist Party of the RSFSR Central Committee.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR proposes a reform of the electoral system which would make it possible to facilitate the process of nomination of candidates for people's deputy from the population in accordance with the place of residence and ensure representation in the soviets of the emissaries of the labor collectives.

Version of the Initiating Congress of the Communists of Russia Organizing Bureau

The Communist Party of the RSFSR proposes a reform of the electoral system providing for elections of people's deputies of all levels by production and territorial district.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR deems inexpedient the separation of the functions of the chairman of the local soviets and their executive committees and advocates reconsideration of this proposition.

We will support new forms of the power of the people emerging on the initiative of the working people: work force councils, worker committees, local self-government councils, and voters' clubs and associations; and operate actively in them and strive for the legal enshrinement of the authority of the organs of self-government as those closest to the real life of the people.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR supports consistent democratic control over the execution of laws and decisions of higher and local organs of state power and administration. The Communists will struggle against sloppiness, mismanagement, and permissiveness, and for the establishment of firm discipline, legality, and law and order. We are for the elaboration, adoption, and commissioning as quickly as possible of a republic program for fighting crime and for the legal education of the population.

The party organizations are called on to pay paramount attention to the rights and liberties of the individual and oppose all forms of persecution of people for their views, beliefs, and national affiliation and the abasement of man's honor and dignity. The party will sponsor the elaboration of a concept of civil rights activity in the republic and the creation of a Center for Human Rights.

The Communists support progressive changes in the trade union movement and will cooperate with it in defense of the working people's rights and interests.

The Communists attach particular significance to participation in a reviving worker and peasant movement in the name of social justice, democracy, and socialism.

The Communists support the legislative initiative of the Russian Komsomol [Communist Youth League] pertaining to a solution of the main youth problems, primarily the assurance of social protection and equal opportunities for all social groups of the youth.

We are interested in the Komsomol's active participation in the elaboration and implementation of the party's youth policy and see it as a political ally, interaction with which will be organized on the principles of equality and close cooperation, on a common ideological basis. The Communists will contribute in every possible way to the consistent rejuvenation of the personnel in all spheres of public and state life.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR advocates active cooperation with the female population. It supports the granting to women of the right of free choice of their social role, women's participation in the adoption and implementation of decisions at all levels, and their extensive representation in the state and public authorities; and will contribute in every possible way to the realization of an official program for an improvement in the position of women and the family and the protection of mother and child. The Communists support the women's movement "For a socialist future for our children."

The Communist Party of the RSFSR will protect in every possible way the interests of the older generations of Soviet people and display concern for the creation of worthy living conditions for veterans and will look for their support in the struggle for perestroyka.

The Communists intend to organize anew their relations with believers. While keeping to the standpoints of a materialist philosophy, we are prepared in conjunction with believers to channel efforts toward the spiritual and cultural elevation of the peoples of Russia.

Under the conditions of the actual multiparty conditions the Communist Party of the RSFSR will interact actively with other public forces advocating the socialist development path. We do not rule out the possibility of the formation of a "left" electoral bloc and other forms of joint work. We propose to all political parties, movements, and organizations the joint discussion of questions of civil concord and an anticrisis program.

The Communists will rebuff by political methods all who encroach on the socialist system and struggle for the application of the law in respect of those who preach racial or national exclusiveness and violence and kindle mistrust and hatred between peoples and social groups, specifically, russophobia, Zionism, and anti-Semitism.

While recognizing the exclusive right of the USSR to the organizational development, training, and use of the country's Armed Forces strictly in accordance with

Union legislation, the Communist Party of the RSFSR considers it necessary to participate actively in the formulation and realization of military reform and conversion with regard for the interests of the Russian Federation. The Communists are for a strengthening of the ties of the Armed Forces to the civilian population, an improvement in the life of Army and Navy outfits, open criticism of the shortcomings there, assistance in the surmounting of them, and the countering of disinformation and the slandering of the Army. The Communists emphatically reject the demands for depoliticization and the removal of the party organizations from the Armed Forces, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the KGB, the procuracy authorities, and the courts, and also from the system of state administration.

The Communist Party advocates the utmost concern for servicemen released into the reserve upon a reduction in the Armed Forces and also people working in the defense sectors who are let go in the course of conversion, and will strive for fulfillment of a government program of social security for servicemen and members of their families.

In the Sphere of Nationality Policy

The Communist Party of the RSFSR advocates the speediest conclusion of a new Union treaty. We confirm our allegiance to the idea of a voluntary union and the preservation of the integrity of the USSR as an association of free and equal republics and consider expedient the conclusion of direct treaties between the republics on the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

The Communists are for the RSFSR becoming a sovereign federation of free peoples and consider a paramount task the formulation of a draft republic treaty, within whose framework each people could independently choose the form of their statehood, and the rights of all the autonomous entities would be expanded appreciably and would be realized in practice. The autonomous republics, oblasts, and okrugs should be full subjects of the Russian Federation.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR is profoundly concerned for the fate of the small peoples and the growing danger of the disappearance of their traditional tenor of life, economic activity, culture, and language. It will seek representation in the highest organs of power of the republic not only for the autonomous entities but also for peoples that do not have their own statehood. The Communists will take similar steps at the autonomous republic, kray, and oblast level. We will sponsor the elaboration of an all-republic program of measures reflecting the legitimate interests of the small peoples and the restoration of the rights of the peoples subjected to unlawful punishments in the thirties and forties.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR will do everything to ensure that the state guarantee in full measure for an individual of any nationality, regardless of where he lives, the exercise of his constitutional rights and liberties. We consider illegitimate the attempts to legalize the priority status of the indigenous nation leading to a violation of human rights and the inflaming of interethnic discord. Nor can we agree with the use of slogans of national revival for kindling interethnic conflicts.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR will insist on the most urgent and all-embracing measures pertaining to the protection of the life, property, and civil rights of representatives of peoples of the republic who live in zones of interethnic conflict in other Union republics or who have found themselves in the position of refugees, and on compensation in full for the losses they have incurred. We propose the creation at the state level of a commission for refugee affairs and the establishment of a refugee assistance fund. Russia remains sympathetic to the troubles of each person who has fallen victim to nationalist extremism and has been forced to seek refuge in our republic. We are for a high standard of interethnic dealings and internationalism.

We call on our compatriots abroad and patriots of Russia to participate to the best of their ability in the processes of perestroyka being implemented in our common homeland.

Ideological Activity

The Communist Party of the RSFSR considers a paramount task in the field of theory the elaboration of a modern concept of socialism based on a creative approach to the legacy of Marx, Engels, and Lenin and their associates and followers, a critical interpretation of the historical experience of socialism, and a scientific analysis of contemporary world development and the achievements of progressive social thought. We will uphold and realize socialist ideas and orient ourselves toward a communist perspective.

Communists do not lay claim to a monopoly of their ideology but they consider it necessary to do everything to ensure that each person interested in its scientific foundations may obtain the corresponding knowledge without hindrance. It is planned creating clubs, reading rooms, and courses open to all who so desire under the auspices of organizations and committees of the Communist Party of the RSFSR; restoring the traditions of propaganda, agitation, and explanatory work in the labor collectives and at the place of residence; and channeling it into the formation of the working people's conscious attitude toward the accomplishment of tasks pertaining to the surmounting of the crisis.

The party will create research and training centers and a system of study of public opinion, and enlist intellectual forces capable of making an accurate analysis of the situation and a forecast of its development. We are for extensive cooperation with the artistic and scientific intelligentsia and will do everything to ensure that the best minds of the RSFSR support the party's undertakings.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR does not reject practical, constructive criticism on the part of any opponents. At the same time, however, it will actively counteract anticommunism and ideologically rebuff antisocialist forces. The Communists will struggle resolutely against desecration of the memory of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and other outstanding figures of the Russian and international workers movement, and against the disparagement of their theory and personality.

Our task is to develop propaganda of humanitarian values such as collectivism, industriousness, tolerance of one another, respect for one's elders, decency, and charity.

Developing international ties and organizing foreign policy information, the Communist Party of the RSFSR will conduct a wide-ranging dialogue with foreign communist, socialist, social democratic, and other parties and movements and will contribute in every possible way to the creation of a correct idea overseas of the Russian and other peoples of the RSFSR and their history, culture, and problems of past and present.

Operating in accordance with the USSR Press Act, the Communist Party of the RSFSR will pay special attention to the implementation of an effective information policy aimed at the shaping of the renewed consciousness of the masses and the consolidation of the Communists and their allies in the cause of perestroyka.

The Communists will endeavor to ensure that their positions be objectively reflected in the press which belongs to state authorities and public organizations. The Communist Party of the RSFSR intends to strengthen its own party system of news media: creating its own publishing houses, newspapers, and journals, and seeking the founding of radio and television channels. Press centers and press groups will operate under the auspices of the Communist Party of the RSFSR Central Committee and the local party committees.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR intends to stimulate the quest for new forms of editorial-publishing and economic activity and encourage the creation of joint ventures and joint-stock companies and print publications on terms of coestablishment with the soviets and public organizations and movements sharing the CPSU's program goals.

The Communist Party has an interest in journalists' participation in the work of its elective bodies and will promote their professional growth and an improvement in their work and social conditions. The relations of the party committees and the party's press organs will be organized on the principles of trust, comradeship, equality, and cooperation.

Intraparty Life

The Communists of the Russian Federation see the creation of their party not as a mechanical act of the merger of the republic's party organizations but as the emergence of a new political force. Endeavoring to win the vanguard positions in society, the Communist Party of the RSFSR will augment the ideological and moral steadfastness, unity, discipline, selflessness, and disinterested approach of the Communists, decisively renew and democratize party life, establish the power of the party masses, and work selflessly in the name of the interests of the working people and the peoples of the RSFSR.

We are opposed to dogmatic and liquidationist sentiments in the party and support a cleansing of the party ranks of those who compromise it by their conduct and who have in fact gone over to ideological positions which are alien to it.

A particular concern is an influx into the party of fresh forces, primarily working people, the youth, and active supporters of perestroyka.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR intends to introduce in the party's elective bodies quotas for women proportionate to their numbers in the party; and to create in the party bodies special commissions for work among the women.

The party will pay special attention to an extension of the rights and an increase in the assertiveness and independence of its primary party organizations. They are called on to find forms and methods of work which enable them under the new conditions not only to preserve but also increase their influence in the work force. The main thing for the Communists is defense of the interests of the working people. Having abandoned command methods, the party organizations must offer the work force programs for the solution of urgent social and economic problems and participate actively in their realization, respond in good time to the mood and requirements of the working people, and display flexibility and initiative in the organization of political actions.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR considers illegitimate and unconstitutional demands for the removal of its organizations from the production outfits.

The republic Communist Party will strengthen considerably its organizations according to the place of residence and reallocate the Communists' forces such as to ensure that each territorial cell is capable of conducting vigorous propaganda and organizing activity, particularly in a period of election struggle. Their mission is to seek an improvement in people's living conditions. We plan to create territorial cultural and social and political centers for work with the population according to the place of residence.

The Communists intend to democratize in every possible way the life of their primary organizations, having created in them every opportunity for comradely intercourse and freedom of opinion and criticism. Communists in a minority on this issue or the other are obliged to implement the adopted decisions, reserving here the right to express and defend their opinion; they are guaranteed an opportunity to explain their views, via the mass media included. Communists with different viewpoints on the ways to achieve common program goals may unite around the pertinent platforms.

The party organizations will defend the Communists against all forms of injustice and discrimination for their beliefs and membership of the CPSU and render party comrades moral and material support. In turn, each Communist should be responsible for the fate and authority of his party organization and the entire party.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR and its bodies locally will render the secretaries of primary party organizations at the forward edge of the political struggle the necessary support and assistance. An All-Russia Council of Primary Party Organization Secretaries will be created under the auspices of the Communist Party of the RSFSR Central Committee.

The party will support the development of horizontal structures (secretary councils, party clubs and such) and the unification of the efforts of the party committees in the solution of regional and interregional problems.

Under the new conditions the party intends to develop its own industrial-economic activity. The structure and list of personnel of the party committees will be brought into line with their new functions and work conditions.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR views as unjustified and unlawful the demands for the nationalization of party property.

The republic Communist Party advocates an enhancement of the status and a broadening of the rights and independence of the party committees of national-territorial formations of the RSFSR.

It will engage in active and purposive personnel work, train a reserve, recommend for the organs of state power and administration the most deserving Communists and nonparty persons, make its evaluation of officials of state and economic authorities, and oppose bureaucratism, protectionism, and incompetence.

It is necessary to replace party cadres and replenish their ranks with energetic people capable of thinking and acting in the new way. To enlist extensively in the work in the party bodies professional ideologists: philosophers, economists, political scientists, sociologists, and other specialists. The activity of the apparatus will be wholly under the supervision of the elective authorities and concentrated on the fulfillment of their decisions.

It would be expedient to form commissions and working groups on the problems and directions of party work from members of the Communist Party of the RSFSR Central Committee, delegates to the Constituent Congress, and other Communists.

* * *

Our goal is to ensure the country's socialist future in the name of the working man and his social protection, well-being, and spiritual development, and in the name of social justice and the establishment of the genuine power of the people.

The time has come for active work.

The Communist Party of the RSFSR calls on the Communists and all to whom the ideals of October and the socialist fatherland are dear to join energetically with a full commitment of efforts, knowledge, and ability in work on the implementation of this action program.

* * *

The proposed document is a reference point for the formulation by the party organizations of all levels of specific action programs taking account of local conditions and the working people's interests.

Komi Supreme Soviet Disputes Political Issues

LD2808200690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Aug 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] an extraordinary session of the Supreme Soviet is being held. The deputies are examining a draft declaration on the republic's state sovereignty and the Komi Autonomous SSR government's concept for increasing the republic's economic and political independence in connection with the transfer to a market economy.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Ye. Kuznetsov] The stormiest debates were caused by proposals from a number of commissions to remove the words "autonomy" and "soviet socialist" from the title of the state body, questions about the state language and the republic's statute, what section of rights should be delegated to the Union and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, and what should be considered the immovable property of the republic. The first day of the session was also marked by the publication of the newspaper RESPUBLIKA. It will become the organ of the soviets. And the already existing republican newspaper KRASNOYE ZNAMYA will pass on to the communist organization. [addressing delegate] Yuriy Ivanovich, what's your attitude to the most important documents which are being discussed by the session today?

[Yu.I. Semukov, first deputy chairman of the Komi Autonomous SSR Supreme Soviet] What we are undertaking today—the rights, powers, and obligations—is, I think, what should lead to a change in the situation in the material sense and in the sense of the well-being of our people who live on the territory of our republic. [end recording]

Mari Supreme Soviet Discusses Sovereignty Draft

PM2808160190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Alyans Sabirov under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Sovereignty Becoming All the Rage"]

[Text] Yoshkar-Ola—A session of the Mari ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet has discussed a draft declaration on state sovereignty.

The first surprise of this session was the resignation of G. Posibeyev, chairman of the autonomous republic's Supreme Soviet, who is first secretary of the CPSU oblast committee. Even the discussion of the declaration was a surprise for deputies, because the official draft had been published in the press three days before the session opened and no other versions have been published.

The content of the solitary document, which seems to have been compiled by the old apparatus method, has produced conflicting attitudes from many people. On the one hand it proposes that the republic remain autonomous, as before, while on the other it expresses the intention to declare it a sovereign state and establish the supremacy of local laws over Russian and Union laws. How are these essentially opposing approaches to be combined?

Why the haste, the innuendo, the confusion? The state cause that has begun is too important for that because it is a question of the fate of the nation and its mutual relations with neighboring peoples. Or is it simply that the political circumstances have changed for some people and that declaring sovereignty has become highly fashionable and prestigious?

Tatar Supreme Soviet To Discuss Sovereignty

LD2808161190 Moscow TASS in English 1454 GMT 28 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Sorokin]

[Text] Kazan August 28 TASS—The question of Tatar sovereignty is one of the main issues on the agenda of a current session of the Supreme Soviet of this autonomous republic, which is part of the Russian Federation.

The Tatar Republic, located in the middle Volga and low Kama rivers valley, is one of the Russian Federation's largest autonomous republics. It occupies 68,000 square kilometres and has a population of 3 million tons of oil, has a large "KamAZ" automotive plant, and major factories to produce synthetic resins, polyethylene, aircraft and helicopters.

The one-sided structure of the economy, formed under the diktat of central authorities, has led to the fact that production of business goods exceeds that of consumer goods five times. The republic also faces major ecological problems.

The Tatar public has come to the conclusion that economic, social, ecological and cultural problems can be solved only by extending the republic's sovereignty.

The republican parliament is to decide whether the Tatar Republic break away from the Russian Federation and become an independent Union republic or remain an autonomy with wider powers.

New Party Wants Far East Republic Restored

PM2808104190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[INTERFAX report: "Constituent Congress"]

[Text] As your INTERFAX correspondent was told, the constituent congress of the "Republican Far Eastern Freedom Party" will be held in Vladivostok 8-9 September. The members of this party intend to campaign for the restoration of the Far East Republic. That was the name of the buffer state that existed in East Siberia and the Far East after the October Revolution (1920-1922).

15 KGB Officers Help Gather Perm Harvest

LD2808160390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] INTERFAX reports that 15 counterintelligence officers from the Perm Oblast directorate of the USSR KGB today started to gather the harvest at the (Kurashinskiy) State Farm. They will be engaged in agricultural work for a month. The Perm KGB officers are taking part in the action of this kind for the first time in the post-war years.

Construction of Gorkiy Nuclear Station Halted

PM2808123990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by A. Yershov: "Construction of Nuclear Station Halted"]

[Text] Gorkiy—A Gorkiy Oblast Soviet session has adopted a decision to ban further construction of a nuclear heat-supply station near the oblast center.

The station is located virtually inside the city limits, but the public believe that adequate guarantees that its future operation will be safe are not provided. Nor is it possible to disregard the population's psychological state after the Chernobyl nuclear power station accident.

A final decision on the fate of the Gorkiy nuclear heat-supply station will have to be made by the country's government.

'Dogma Free' Tolyatti Paper Begins Publication

LD2908101190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0330 GMT on 29 August carries a three-minute report by correspondent (Lidiya Krechetov) from Tolyatti on the appearance of a new paper, PLOSHCHAD SVOBODY (FREEDOM SQUARE). She interviews the editor (Valeriy Konstantinovich Shumyakin). He says the paper calls itself the paper of the people's deputies of electors of Tolyatti. The trial issue has a print run of 35,000 and is almost sold out. It will be dogma free and open to representatives of different parties, (Shumyakin) says. The paper will start coming out regularly next year.

Western Republics

Belorussia Begins Compensating Chernobyl Victims

LD2808195490 Moscow TASS in English 1932 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Minsk August 28 BELTA-TASS—Belorussia has begun payments of compensation to people living in areas with radioactive contamination from one to five curies per square kilometer.

According to Belgidromet, the number of people amounts to over 1.25 million. Each of them will get an additional 15 rubles a month, in accordance with the Belorussian parliament's resolution on measures to expedite the realization of the state programme to clean up the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster.

The parliament adopted the resolution in the middle of July, but it failed then to determine the source to finance the humane action and instructed the Belorussian Council of Ministers to do so. The government found the needed money, but now exployees of some branches will have to wait for some time before new rates of tariff are introduced.

Ukrainian Official Comments on Parliament's Work

90UN2692A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 9 Aug 90 p 2

[Interview with I.S. Plyushch, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, conducted by A. Sokol; place and date not given: "Seeking Ways of Consolidation"]

[Text] [Sokol] Ivan Stepanovich! The republic Supreme Soviet has just completed its business. Some readers are writing to tell us that the session was clearly protracted. Could the reason for all this have been the political struggle in parliament?

[Plyushch] Your question contains the answer to a large extent.

I would like to clarify this following fact: Protracted debate has been conducted by the parliaments of other Union republics also. A similar situation has taken shape also in the city soviets of Kiev, Moscow, Leningrad.... Many people really believe that this is happening merely because there are among the deputies considerable numbers of, say, people of intellectual labor. I believe this not to be the case. The reason lies elsewhere. Representatives of various public formations and different political currents have been elected to the republic Supreme Soviet and the soviets which I have listed. Everyone is defending his own position. Not as is required, what is more, but as each knows how.

Sooner or later the deputies will unite in some constructive parliamentary nucleus. I do not wish to give it a name but there will be such a nucleus. It is not a question of the notorious "monolith." It is impossible and, what is more, dangerous. We have seen this for ourselves in practice. There is no room for monopolism. Neither in policy nor in the economy. There will always be that political difference of opinion which is being born currently. It is as yet reminiscent of new wine, but it will mature and will be constructive. Necessarily!

[Sokol] But what nature is it assuming today?

[Plyushch] I would not dramatize the situation. With whatever difficulty, the business has been completed. And not unsuccessfully.

[Sokol] You refer to the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the Ukraine?

[Plyushch] Not only this, although the work on the declaration was both indicative and instructive. The whole republic knows that this document was not born in office seclusion; it was written by the Supreme Soviet. It was difficult, agonizing at times. But what a result! I refer not only to the significance of this act. It is important that it reflected the unanimity of the deputies. Only four persons voted "against."

Inasmuch as we are talking about the declaration, I would like to emphasize that this is a fundamental document. It will help also in the consolidation of the Ukrainian people, which is today very important. People need spiritual uplift and belief in the future.

The instrument of our sovereignty is not to everyone's liking, incidentally. And this is understandable. The republic's sovereignty hits at the center, more precisely, at the omnipotence of its ministries and departments. We need to consider the following fact also. The command-administrative system has engendered an army of government officials and managers who have settled down at all levels of the hierarchy without exception. These forces understand that they are doomed and are, as they say, clutching at straws. Some people are not averse to immediately finding a culprit and stigmatizing it. The notorious nationalism and a desire for isolation and separation are, as in the past, being seen in the republic's aspiration to sovereignty. Everything is otherwise in reality.

It was precisely the absence of sovereignty which led to many negative phenomena, interethnic included. The endeavor of the center to assemble everything and then divide up what it had assembled engendered and continues to engender increasing discontent. We glossed over it in silence for long enough. Today we have begun to talk. But how? The Uzbeks are complaining that they are giving away cotton for kopeks, the Ukrainians, grain and sugar, some others, oil. Everyone is dissatisfied. This would not be the case were the republics to sit down as equals at the negotiating table. If we remain subordinate, junior and senior, more propertied and less propertied, no good will come of it. It is independence and self-sufficiency that will make us friends. And strong friends at that.

Some people are inclined to conceive of the aspiration to sovereignty as an endeavor to secede from the USSR. But even a schoolboy understands the current situation: The center is a single national economic complex, the republic, a part of it. The idea of severance is absurd.

[Sokol] It is indicative on this level that in introducing citizenship of the republic the declaration simultaneously guarantees citizenship of the USSR.

[Plyushch] The debate on this issue was, as you know, most acute. The problem was not resolved with the first discussion. There were both situations of impasse and roll-call votes. The argument was about the words concerning USSR citizenship. The deputies scrupulously searched for wording most fully reflecting the aspiration of the people of the Ukraine and found it.

[Sokol] You voted, incidentally, for a version that did not pass, which amazed some deputies. Would you care to say anything in this connection?

[Plyushch] I would. First, that I sympathize will all three versions which were proposed, for each makes it possible to retain USSR citizenship. Now, about the voting. I supported the wording you speak of because—I am convinced of this even now—it is the most precise. In accordance with it, a person "has the right to USSR citizenship." The idea is expressed with the maximum of precision and comprehensibility. The guarantee of this right gives rise to questions. In what form, for example, will it be expressed? In command or some other form?

In this connection there is reason to say this. It is time to have done with suspicions, we cannot harbor apprehensions about something constantly. The time has come to take a sober look at life's realities and act accordingly. In the present situation effective steps are extremely necessary—those which might produce the results expected by the people.

[Sokol] Could you not name them. Those which, in your opinion, should be taken literally today or tomorrow.

[Plyushch] If we are speaking about the Supreme Soviet, its immediate task is elaborating and adopting a new constitution of the republic and laws. We can all see that the society in which we live is sick, chronically, what is more. And an unhealthy individual needs to be treated, otherwise he will die. Recognizing this, we have embarked on the cure. We are expending more than sufficient effort, what is more, but not really finding the causes of the ailment. But it is here, in what is most important, that radicalism is necessary. A one-sided, prejudiced approach stands in the way here also.

In order that I be correctly understood I would like to emphasize that the contemplated Marxist-Leninist society of social justice is a noble, fine goal. But we have been approaching it, unfortunately, by the wrong paths.

All of us, the people's deputies particularly, must understand that we cannot continue to live like this. The supporters of radical change are often angrily rebuked: "Where are you dragging us!" It is, understandably, capitalism which is implied. This is not the time, I believe, to be concentrating efforts on arguments about "isms." Our duty is to think about the people, who are expecting a better life.

[Sokol] You have said that it is essential to enact new laws. Could you not talk about this in more detail?

[Plyushch] I shall not say which laws specifically, there are so many of them (they are listed on the agenda). I would like to focus attention elsewhere: We need to enact only "working" laws. Laws passed for effect are not needed—they only discredit the idea of a state based on the rule of law. There are already many examples in this respect.

The new legislative instruments need a mechanism of efficacy to be formulated. Many deputies are beginning to perceive this need, it seems to me. And this is of considerable importance.

[Sokol] A new government has been formed. What is its role in a stabilization of the situation and the extrication of the republic from the crisis?

[Plyushch] It will be difficult for the government. Very. It now has, incidentally, an entirely different situation from that which it had before. In the past, for example, it would adopt many decisions in conjunction with the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. I shall not expatiate on these documents, but responsibility for their fulfillment was diminished. Insofar as the Central Committee took everything upon itself, the Council of Ministers was kept in the background and at times simply hid behind its back. Now the situation is different. It will have to answer for everything. This must be understood. The government must be imbued with a sense of responsibility.

Particular significance is attached to the practicability of the scheduled measures. One member of parliament declared at the podium that if the program of USSR People's Deputy V.K. Chernyak, who was nominated as an alternative for the office of premier, were to be adopted, all problems would be solved. Even now I could put my signature to this program. But am prepared also to subscribe to the fact that under today's conditions it is impracticable. We cannot be carried away by beguiling theoretical computations. Action is needed. We need tangible improvements.

I would like to mention also that there are no more promissory notes in this respect, even for two to three years. We are not, understandably, talking about instant abundance. But a change for the better, if only a trend toward this, is needed. Today, now. We need to apply the brakes to the collapse of the economy. People realize that quickly providing everyone with, say, automobiles is impossible. But with socks, yes! There should be such a realization at government level also. It is faced with many crucial, urgent tasks. It may be held to account for how they are being accomplished very soon. In six months even.

[Sokol] Ivan Stepanovich! You have as the person presiding been heard on the radio and seen on the television screen for two months. Everyone knows that this is a difficult role. What difficulty seems to you the most arduous?

[Plyushch] The politicization of society has been reflected in the business of the Supreme Soviet also. All that happens in our hall is a reflection of our life and its zigzags. The deputies nowadays express themselves as they see fit—they give no thought to whether something may or may not be discussed. And this is good. But a lack of political breeding is perceived here. Many deputies are unwilling to hear out an opponent and become irritated when an opposite opinion is expressed. And this is observed both on the part of the opposition "National Council" and on the part of the "For a Soviet Sovereign Ukraine" group. It is very difficult for the person presiding in such situations.

All this, of course, will pass. In time our parliament will be, I believe, professional. Its standing commissions should in fact be permanent. State administration cannot be seasonal.

[Sokol] The opinion that during the time that the Supreme Soviet was in session some people's deputies became more "left" has been expressed. What can you say in this connection?

[Plyushch] One member of parliament recently announced at a press conference that he had changed twice in the process of formulation and adoption of the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the Ukraine. There are deputies, I believe, who have changed by a factor of 10.

Groupings which were at the first meetings of the session manifestly polar opposites are now finding a common viewpoint. Deputies have manifestly changed. Some have turned just a little "to the left," some have moved toward the "center," keen radicals have become moderate radicals. I am far from thinking that political currents which exist in the Supreme Soviet are coming together into some one current—of like mind and omnipotent. Such a thing is inconceivable. In addition, we already know that this does no good. The essence lies elsewhere—in more constructive work, in a quest for mutually acceptable solutions. There have been positive changes in this respect, it would seem.

[Sokol] I would like to broach—if you have no objections—a question which is usually called delicate.

[Plyushch] If you have one, it needs to be examined.

[Sokol] It is a question of your chairmanship. Discontent, abrupt and improper at times, has been expressed in the hall. What is your attitude toward all this?

[Plyushch] First of all, about the heart, the content of this matter. There has been no premeditation in my actions. As the officer presiding, I have endeavored to be objective in respect of all without exception. But the parliamentary dialogue was at times difficult. The opposition believed that it was the possessor of the truth. The majority conceived of matters such that if a proposal emanates from it, there is no point in a debate: all is predetermined. It is the duty of the presiding officer to create equal conditions for all and afford, in particular, the minority an opportunity to set forth its position.

I cannot say that all has been impeccable in respect of my chairmanship. But I treated everyone identically. I would note, incidentally, that I belong to no group of deputies. This is not some coincidence—it is my choice.

Now about the second aspect of this matter—style of communication, "Russianisms," dialects, pronunciation and so forth. In the village in which I grew up people speak a Ukrainian-Russian mixture. For many years—from collective farm team leader through vegetable-growing trust director—I endeavored to communicate in the language of the people with whom I most frequently came into contact. This, naturally, has taken its toll. But what stands out most is the consigning to oblivion of my mother tongue. This phenomenon is over and done with forever, I believe. All will be put right.

I will say also that I am like everyone else. I experience both joy and grievance. I hope everyone understands that an untruth and an insult, printed also, cause pain. There may, of course, be complaints about me as the presiding officer. But, I repeat: I have endeavored to be fair and have taken no one's part.

[Sokol] And the final question. About what were you thinking most as you began a morning session of the Supreme Soviet?

[Plyushch] Preventing a deadlocked situation. The constructiveness of Supreme Soviet business will be my preoccupation while I am a people's deputy.

Ukrainian Politburo Discusses New Publications

LD2808130390 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 24 Aug 90

[Text] The Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee Politburo held a routine meeting on forthcoming changes in the mass media and on publishing issues under the supervision of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee.

The problems of raising the militancy of the party press and its ability to compete in the struggle for genuine impact on the sociopolitical situation and public opinion are becoming particularly acute.

Regarding the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic establishing their own publications, as from 1 January 1991 the status of the papers RADYANSKA UKRAINA and PRAVDA UKRAINY will change. These papers will no longer serve as the joint mouthpieces of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers.

The new organs of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee will be set up, both retaining the titles RADYANSKA UKRAINA and PRAVDA UKRAINY.

The status of the papers SILSKI VISTI and ROBITNYCHA HAZETA and the magazine KOMMUNIST UKRAINY, all of which serve as mouthpieces of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee, will remain as is.

In widening its impact on youth and children, the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee deems it necessary to study the question of setting up next year a sociopolitical weekly for youth and an illustrated magazine for children supplemented with sound discs.

Ukrainian Youth Union Holds Bandera Memorial

LD2808111890 Moscow World Service in Russian 0930 GMT 28 Aug 90

[From the "Soviet Chronicle" feature of the "Soviet Union Day by Day" program]

[Text] On the initiative of the Union of Independent Ukrainian Youth, an authorized memorial service to Stepan Bandera, leader of the armed formations of Ukrainian nationalists who fought against the restoration of Soviet power in western Ukraine, was held near the house where he lived, in the village of Staryy Ugrinov, Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast.

Some 300 people attended, according to an INTERFAX correspondent.

Those who addressed the rally called for unity among inhabitants of Ukraine, regardless of religion or nationality.

Hungarian Coverage of Ukrainian Minister's Visit

WA2808160690

For Budapest MTI and Budapest Domestic Service reportage on the visit by Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko to Hungary, including reports on his talks with Hungarian Foreign Affairs Minister Geza Jeszenszky and his interview on Budapest radio, see the Hungary section of the 28 August East Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Caucasus

Armenia Announces State of Emergency 29 Aug

Deaths of Officials Reported

NC2908104590 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0900 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] This morning's first session of the first convocation of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet began forty minutes late. The reason for the delay was stated by Babken Ararktsyan, who presided over the session. The session heard with repressed indignation that on the night of 28 August a new adventuristic crime has been committed by the Armenian National Army which resulted in the death of Yerazmik Mikayelyan, a member of the detachment for maintenance of public order, and People's Deputy Viktor Ayvazyan. The session observed a minute of silence.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet, spoke next.

[Begin recording] I do not want to give a detailed analysis of the situation. As far as we are concerned, a judgment has already been passed. Regrettably, such judgments were not accepted by some of the deputies represented in our parliament. Today I have the right to declare that the parliament, through these elements, in its turn contributed to the creation of a situation which we now face. In particular, I have in mind the assessment of the incidents in Noyemberyanskiy Rayon. For our part, we unequivocally declared that it was treacherous adventurism against the nation, I repeat, treacherous adventurism against the nation, as a result of which the Kazak-Yerevan gas pipeline was closed, gravely harming our republic's economy, and then the Kazak-Idzhevan railway was closed. Yesterday the Popular Front of Nakhichevan presented an ultimatum to the Azerbaijani authorities threatening to close once again the railway passing through Nakhichevan.

Added to that, the heroism of our so-called national heroes provided the Azerbaijanis the opportunity to influence public opinion to believe that Azerbaijan is subject to Armenian aggression; this way, they could commit extensive atrocities against the Armenian population in Azerbaijan. It is obvious to all what happened in Shaumyanovskiy. Just now, our People's Deputy Agazdhanyan, the first secretary of Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, phoned to say the Azerbaijanis are already threatening to detain them and to take them out of the rayon. That has already happened in Getashen. This morning a Popular Front detachment entered Getashen, detained the village leaders, and took them to an undisclosed location. The Army has not intervened. That Army, which so actively intervened in Noyemberyanskiy, did not act at Getashen at all. This also should have made us aware that this is a planned policy and that the armed formations in Armenia, the Azerbaijani authorities as well as central authorities, and the Army operations are run by a single hand. Regrettably, so far these armed formations and some of the deputies of our parliament have not realized this.

For that reason the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium—(?which is to an extent formed)—and the Council of Ministers chairman have made a joint decision to appeal to the parliament to confirm the following. I propose that there should be no broad discussion because the situation is so serious that each minute is valuable for us, and we cannot procrastinate. The Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet's decision is: Because of the Armenian National Army military organization's recent adventuristic and illegal activities, the situation has become exceedingly acute in the republic, and this naturally activated the Azerbaijanis. The incidents that took place in Noyemberyanskiy and Shaumyanovskiy in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic and the incidents thattook place in Getashen today, as well as the closure of the Kazak-Yerevan gas pipeline and Kazak-Idzhevan railway are direct consequences of those nation-treacherous actions.

That these incidents developed points out that the Armenian National Army is not only not inclined to terminate its dangerous activities but is also taking further daring steps. On the night of 28 August armed formations of the Armenian National Army initiated openly terroristic activities. An attempt was made on the life of People's Deputy Rafayel Ishkhanyan from a car without a license plate. He has been taken to the hospital with grave injuries. The detachment for the maintenance of the public order defending the (?petrol) station in the 26 Komissars Rayon has been fired upon.

It was not a coincidence that the detachment was fired upon. Those who did so were acting on the orders of Razmik Vasilyan, commander in chief of the Armenian National Army; and of Mayis, that well-known Mayis [not further identified]. As a result of that attack, three people received gunshot wounds. The delegation that went to the Armenian National Army headquarters to clarify the incident was fired upon by the Armenian National Army members as soon as they got out of their car. Yerazmik Mikayelyan, a member of the detachment for maintenance of public order, and People's Deputy Viktor Ayvazyan were injured; after a few hours they died in the hospital.

Proceeding from the evidence enumerated, the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet decision plans on the following:

1. Introducing a state of emergency in the territory of Armenia and a curfew from 2200 in the evening to 0600 in the morning.

2. Disbanding the Armenian National Army military organization.

3. Calling on the fighters of the Armenian National Army to hand in their weapons by 2000 this evening and to hand over the premises they occupy and the vehicles they have seized.

4. Absolving the fighters who comply with the call from criminal responsibility.

5. Detaining those who do not comply with the decision after the deadline and punishing them with the strict severity of the law.

6. The most important point, implementing this decision shall be placed in the hands of the Armenian Republic's Internal Affairs Ministry, the Internal Troop subunits subject to the ministry, the committee for state security, and the personnel of the detachments for maintenance of public order included in the militia structures. That is, we are implementing the state of emergency with the republic's forces alone.

7. Supervising the decision's implementation will be the responsibility of the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers.

This is the decision. A technical problem. Where should the arms be handed in? The arms will be handed in at the Supreme Soviet Presidium building where our parliament's defense and maintenance of internal order commission will be sitting to accept those arms. In the rayons the arms will be handed in to the rayon military departments. [end recording]

The decision was put to a vote and was endorsed by the Supreme Soviet.

Ter-Petrosyan Appeals to Nation

NC2908121490 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0910 GMT 29 Aug 90

["Appeal" by Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet, "to our people" on 29 August; place not given—recorded]

[Text] Now I appeal to all our people, who I am sure will receive our decision with understanding. That was above all the demand of the people. The people's patience had already run out. They could no more bear the adventurism of these armed detachments which endanger both the security of our citizens and the formation of our statehood. This is a proven fact, and there is no need to advance fresh evidence. I call on our people to submit to the regulations of the curfew hours and to stop moving in the streets after 2200 as inspections will be made; to stop circulating in the streets, to remain at home, and to remain collected and calm. I assure you that we, the Armenian authorities, are in a position to eliminate the danger posed by that armed organization [the Armenian National Army]. The only thing needed for that is calm. There should be no panicking.

We also call on the leaders of all enterprises and organizations to consider this call to be the order of the parliament. If this order is not carried out, tomorrow we will call them to account. Hereby the leaders of all the enterprises and organizations should set up tribunes to maintain public order on their premises. So that they could at the least defend their own installations (?they should not leave the installations). They should strengthen the shift guard in all the enterprises, organizations, and state institutions. We are sure these measures will have positive results.

National Army 'Ruled Illegal'

LD2908110290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1025 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Aug (TASS)—A curfew was introduced in the Armenian capital today and an emergency situation was declared in the republic, a TASS correspondent was told by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Main Directorate of Internal Troops.

This decision was made after automatic weapons were fired early this morning in a Yerevan district. The shooting then moved to the "Moskva" Cinema in the town center. According to preliminary information, armed gangs from the so-called Armenian National Army (ANA) attacked the Armenian Pan-National Movement (AOD) headquarters. The fighting lasted around one hour.

The ANA was ruled illegal and subject to being disarmed and disbanded by the Armenian Supreme Soviet this morning. The republican minister of internal affairs ordered all approaches to Yerevan closed to prevent fresh armed groups of fighters from gathering in the city. Local law enforcement bodies and subunits of Internal Troops have been deployed.

In observers' opinions this development of events was expected. The ANA is the main opposition force opposing the AOD. Political confrontation is gradually turning into military confrontation as the AOD and ANA have their own armed groups. But if the AOD unconditionally carries out the demands of the republic leadership the military groups of the ANA are unwilling to submit to legal authority and lay down their arms. The ANA includes different armed gangs, including some of a criminal persuasion, who hide behind the banner of national struggle to rob their fellow country people and arrange provocations on the border with Azerbaijan.

Arms seizures and attacks on militia workers and troop units are continuing in different areas of Armenia. Air and ground surveillance has established the relocation of Armenian terrorists in rayons of Armenia bordering Azerbaijan. Eight hail guns in firing positions have been discovered on the commanding heights in the Noyemberyanskiy Rayon and a weapons store in Idzhevanskiy Rayon. Subunits of the Internal Troops special forces have been sent there.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Session Opens 29 Aug

LD2908143490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] An Armenian Supreme Soviet session opened today in Yerevan. Before the opening of the morning sitting, parliamentarians laid flowers on the seat of their colleague, Viktor Ayvazyan. He fell victim to a provocative attack by members of armed formations of the Armenian National Army on his way to negotiations with them.

Yerevan Garrison Political Chief Interviewed

PM2808121590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Aug 90 First Edition p 3

[Interview by telephone with USSR People's Deputy Major General M. Surkov, chief of the Yerevan garrison political department, by "correspondent" Lieutenant Colonel V. Kosarev under the rubric "Armenia: Political Situation": "Situation Remains Tense"; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Today it is with particular emotion that we receive every piece of news from the Transcaucasus. And this news is not long in coming. As is well known, the Armenian Supreme Soviet has adopted a declaration on the republic's independence. The name of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic has been changed—it is now called the Republic of Armenia (Ayastan). With a view to safeguarding the republic's security and the inviolability of its borders, the declaration says, its own armed forces, Internal Troops, and organs of state and public security are being created, subordinated to the Armenian Supreme Soviet.

Some details about these and connected events were described by telephone to our correspondent by USSR People's Deputy Major General M. Surkov, chief of the Yerevan garrison political department.

[Kosarev] Mikhail Semenovich, recent events in the republic which we have described to our readers have been highly alarming. What has changed in the days since then? After all, the new Armenian leadership has promised to stabilize the situation.

[Surkov] Unfortunately, the situation remains very complex and tense. The point is that while the Armenian leadership in conjunction with the command of the military district, Yerevan garrison, and the Internal Troops, is seeking a way to stabilize the situation, individual antagonistic groupings are doing everything to heat it. Here very briefly are events of the past week alone (I shall not mention what is already known to everyone, what happened in Kazakhskiy Rayon, I shall merely list some episodes from current reports). On 11 August an attack was made in Leninakan on Private Sultanov with the aim of seizing his weapons.

[Kosarev] He is a private in the Internal Troops?

[Surkov] No, he is a soldier from one of our Army subunits. The seized weapons were returned through the usual measures. On 22 August at 0545 an armed attack was made on a sentry—Private Baranauskas, who was guarding a hospital. The soldier was killed. His weapon was taken. On the same day at 22:45 about 30 armed thugs attack an ammunition depot in the population center of Pushkino. The attack was repelled. In Tumanyanskiy Rayon militia department five pistols were stolen.

Last night a ZIL-131 truck with the driver, Private Akanin, and truck leader Lieutenant Karpenko, a platoon commander, was seized not far from the compound of a military unit. Private Arestov was also taken hostage. The attackers tried to break into the military unit's territory on this truck. A reinforcement of up to 40 men approached them from the other side. The shooting lasted over 30 minutes. According to available information one of the attackers was killed and five were injured.

[Kosarev] Tell me, does the republic's leadership know of these incidents? What is its reaction?

[Surkov] I have just had a talk over the telephone with Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, and his first deputy, Babken Ararktsyan, and informed them of what has happened. We have constant working contacts of this kind with the republic's leaders. Their position here is as follows. They insist that we repel the attacks and defend ourselves, but only on the territory of our units, and in no case should we pursue anyone on the republic's territory.

We have compiled a joint program of actions to stabilize the situation, to prevent attacks on military units and servicemen, and to neutralize anti-Army feelings. It includes meetings between the new leadership and the military units. For our part we are meeting with the collectives of various enterprises and educational establishments and with representatives of armed informal groups. But so far it is too early to speak of the results of this work.

The biggest complication is that the republic's new leadership is not supported by everyone. There are many people who today refuse to obey the parliament. As a rule these are groups of a criminal bent. Representatives of the Armenian National Army and some other informal organizations close to it disagree with many of the positions of Ter-Petrosyan's government.

I must mention that our people—soldiers and officers—are very tired. They have been literally exhausted by being constantly on duty and at their posts.

[Kosarev] KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers wonder what measures the republic's leadership is taking to fulfill the USSR president's decree on prohibiting the creation of armed formations and confiscating the weapons which have been seized illegally.

[Surkov] This work is so far only beginning, so that unfortunately we cannot yet speak of any results. The Ministry of Internal Affairs is now undergoing renewal—members of the Armenian Pannational Movement are joining the leadership. In the republic's parliament a commission on questions of defense and internal security has been created headed by Vazgen Sarkisyan. Obviously, it will bear the main brunt of the work. But I repeat once again that there are forces in the republic which are opposing the new government's course.

[Kosarev] Mikhail Semenovich, you are well acquainted with many of the leaders of the Armenian Pannational Movement who have come to power, you have met them frequently as a USSR people's deputy and representative of the military command. Probably it is easier to work with them now.

[Surkov] On the contrary, it is more complicated...

Armenian Doctors Discuss Possible AIDS Remedy

NC2808123490 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 27 Aug 90

[Excerpts] Yerevan, 27 Aug (ARMENPRES)—Recently the Union and international press reported that the Armenian specialists have developed an effective compound to fight the AIDS virus. Is this sensational? [passage omitted] ARMENPRES asked Robert Zakaryan, deputy director of the experimental biological research institute of the Armenian Academy of Sciences and candidate of sciences, and Professor Jan Akobyan, doctor of science and director of the molecular enzymology laboratory, to comment on this.

R. Zakaryan said: "Any announcement about a cruel ailment is sensational. The fact is that our institute has not yet announced such a discovery. It has only stated that it has developed a compound whose effectiveness has already become apparent during laboratory tests on cultured cells. [passage omitted] The results obtained are really encouraging, and I think for the time being there is no reason to be disillusioned. I will even go as far as to say that one of the components of that compound has proven its effectiveness not only on the cultured cells but during the next stage of the research on some viral infection models in animals. That means that the compound has anti-viral characteristics. It is a matter of time before drugs are prepared on the basis of that compound. Regrettably, everything does not depend solely on those who have prepared the compound."

J. Akobyan said: "The compound has to be further developed and advanced to a point where it could turn into a drug. We already have the basic thing with the compound itself and the scientific potential. However, we lack the appropriate equipment and other means to take us to the next stage of research. We need help. We asked V.I. Pokrovskiy, president of the USSR medical sciences academy in Moscow, to consider experimenting with the compound under clinical conditions. However, we received no reply to our application and cable." [passage omitted]

Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Opens 29 Aug

LD2908064990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0603 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Baku, 29 August (Azerinfom-TASS)—The session of the republic's Supreme Soviet opened today in the capital of Azerbaijan. Deputies will discuss in the third reading the draft constitutional law of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] on the economic independence of the republic and will consider the situation in regions of the Azerbaijan SSR bordering with Armenia and other matters.

Azerbaijan Attaches Preconditions to Moscow Ties

LD2908093690 Moscow TASS in English 0904 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Baku August 29 TASS—Azerbaijani Prime Minister Gasan Gasanov said that the current situation in the Caucasus will prevent his government from determining its position on future economic relations with the centre until its political relationship with Armenia is completely regulated.

In a statement published today, Gasanov demanded the disarmament of unlawful armed groups in Armenia and an end to its territorial claims on Azerbaijan, among other pre-conditions for normalising bilateral relations.

Gasanov accused federal authorities of "indecision" in executing the presidential edict to disband unconstitutional armed groups in Armenia and of "a sustained policy of concessions to Armenia" on the issue.

The Azerbaijani government, he said, insists on adequate guarantees for the territorial integrity of its republic, the security of its borders, and the liberation of all Azerbaijani lands occupied or blocked by Armenian armed groups.

The statement called for "giving the entire length of the Azerbaijani border with Armenia the status of a state frontier".

It also urged "temporarily creating, pending the normalisation of bilateral relations, a ten-kilometer-wide buffer zone along the entire length of the border between Azerbaijan and Armenia. The zone would be five kilometers deep on either side and protected by federal border units, under the parity-based control of both republics".

The statement stressed the need to enable Azerbaijan to make full use of federal income produced on its territory, to prevent any re-distribution of such income without the republic's consent, to ensure equivalent commodity exchanges, and to balance exports and imports.

Azerbaijan favours the development and enhancement of relations with all constituent republics within an integral union, Gasanov said. He pointed, by way of example, to cooperation agreements signed by Azerbaijan with Belorussia and Georgia and negotiations under way on similar agreements with Russia, the Ukraine and several other republics.

The statement emphasised Azerbaijan's desire to preserve the Soviet Union and help restore peace and justice to the Caucasian region.

Conflict Continuing on Armenia-Azerbaijan Border

Internal Troops 'Introduced'

PM2808161190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by I. Andreyev: "Armenia: People Leaving Border Areas"]

[Text] At the editorial office's request, Lieutenant General M. Kolesnikov, chief of staff of the sector troops, talks about the events of the past 24 hours in the Transcaucasus:

[Kolesnikov] Armed extremists are continuing to attack troop units on the territory of Armenia. One unit, in the population center of Bambakashat, has perhaps felt the pressure of recent months more than the others: In that period it has been attacked three times. Last Sunday evening militants stopped an army vehicle as it was approaching the small garrison. Taking two soldiers and an officer hostage, they drove up to the checkpoint. They also captured the soldier on duty at the entrance. Realizing what had happened the soldiers took up defensive positions on the perimeter and did battle with the attackers, who outnumbered them. The shooting, which ended when the militants pulled back, lasted around two and a half hours. The hostages were freed. There are no reliable figures at the moment on the attackers' losses. There were no casualties in the garrison.

The situation remains tense in the border areas. Azerbaijani population centers in Kazakhskiy and Kelbadzharskiy Rayons and Ilichevskiy Rayon in Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] are under constant bombardment from Armenia. Soldiers have been wounded.

[Andreyev] But it is reported, Mikhail Petrovich, that Internal Troops have been introduced into the Armenian border zone. Are there still no curbs on the militants, then?

[Kolesnikov] The pecularities of the terrain facilitate their actions and enable them to escape unscathed into the mountains after again bombarding, for example, the Azerbaijani settlement of Yukhary-Askipar. This happens, as a rule, by night, when the militants' preparations and pullout cannot be spotted by the helicopters which are constantly reconnoitering by day.

According to the latest data, people have been leaving the border areas of Armenia for the interior in droves. On the one hand, this is evidence that people are tired of the constant shooting, fear, and uncertainty. On the other hand, as previous events of this kind suggest, you should expect the situation in these places to deteriorate.

There is an uneasy situation, unfortunately, also in those parts of Georgia where the Armenian population predominates. Last night a soldier was wounded in Akhaltsikhskiy Rayon.

[Andreyev] What is the situation like in Azerbaijan, in the areas bordering on Armenia?

[Kolesnikov] According to our data, there are no armed civilian formations in the zone. At any rate, reports from the area do not contain information on any incidents.

'Alarming Opposition' Reported

LD2908064590 Moscow TASS in English 0625 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—The KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper today describes the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan as a cite of "alarming opposition."

The newsapaper writes that all sensible people in both republics are looking forward with hope to talks between the Armenian and Azerbaijan governments.

News about the talks was made public at the Armenian parliament session. Many deputies evaluated the militants' actions as renegade. To support their statements, they cited clashes between armed groups and Interior Ministry troops and Soviet Army units in the Noyemberyansky District.

The seizure of transport facilities continues in Armenia, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA points out. Many builders, who arrived in the republic to help Armenia recover from the devastating earthquake, were easy prey for people who wanted to steal their motor vehicles.

The Armenian Communist Party issued a statement, expressing readiness to cooperate with all political organisations and movements that are trying to stabilise the situation.

"The flashpoint of tension on the border-shared T plant [as received] has already been announced. The Yerevan worsted mill has temporarily stopped operations. People are more frequently seen queueing up for bread: "They buy five or more loaves, fearing laps in food supply, although the government issued a statement about an increase in bread baking."

Not only ethnic Armenians are concerned about their future, the newspaper writes. Ukrainian workers in the earthquake zone staged a rally in Kirovakan to protest against militant threats.

People's Deputy on 'Repressive Regime' in NKAO

LD2808153490 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 34, 2-9 Sep 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with USSR People's Deputy Galina Starovoytova by Vladimir Kiselev: "Nagorno-Karabakh Revisited"; place and date not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] When USSR People's Deputy Galina Starovoytova stepped off the plane, submachine gunners greeted her at the gangway. Starovoytova was told that, unless she left Nagorno-Karabakh immediately, she would be sent to a filtration point—a preliminatry detention cell, where a person's identity is established.

[Kiselev] Galina Vasilyevna, Karabakh is your never-ending pain. As far as I know, the last time you were here was at the end of 1988 with Andrey Sakharov. What has brought you here this time?

[Starovoytova] The decision of two parliaments—Russia's and Armenia's—extremely anxious as they are over the state of affairs in the autonomous region and the observance in it of legality and human rights. My constituents in Yerevan also asked me about this. Also, I had to pass over electronic calculators for a mathematical school. Because the homeland of Karabakh children is sealed off for a long time they have nothing but armoured personnel carriers, tanks and submachine guns.

[Kiselev] Why were you detained by the military?

[Starovoytova] I also asked this question when I was escorted to the commandant's office, where several other armed officers came later. I heard in reply that it was because of the Decree on the Emergency Situation. But any restrictions in moving around the USSR do not apply to USSR people's deputies. Then the military started referring to Azerbaijan's Minister of Justice Orudzhev, who published a document obviously at variance with the Law on the Status of a Deputy and infringing on his rights.

As I later learned, people, indignant over my detention, started gathering at the airfield. Riot police units were readied to pacify an improvised and unsanctioned rally. We had already been in a cramped airless room for several hours. All this time the airport commandant was talking on the phone. He was getting increasingly nervous. At last, he said: "Now she'll set out for Stepanakert; am I supposed to grab her by her arms, by her dress?" But where could I go surrounded by five men armed with pistols and with submachine gunners outside?

[Kiselev] You have not mentioned a single name. Is it because you don't know them?

[Starovoytova] I deliberately don't mention them. These people have been trying to do their duty under extremely difficult conditions. They are not to blame if, after indoctrination, they live as if on somebody else's land, constantly awaiting an attack from the Armenians. If they are poorly fed and supplied. But yet, despite my sympathy for them, I cannot but note the Army's unprofessionalism. Nagorno-Karabakh was also visited by a foreign correspondent who, naturally, didn't advertise this trip, and he obtained the material he needed without any hindrance.

[Kiselev] You were unable to do what you needed to?

[Starovoytova] I was already at the Stepanakert commandant's when a phone call was received from Azerbaijan's President Mutalibov who said that the situation in the republic was heating up. And although I hadn't advertised my work trip, I promised, understanding the gravity of the president's position, to limit to 24 hours.

[Kiselev] What are your impressions of Karabakh? Is there any sign of improvement?

[Starovoytova] The situation is much worse than it was at the beginning of the conflict. I recall the history of the British Empire's developing into the British Commonwealth. In 1948, after the United Nations resolution on the formation of Israeli and Palestinian states, Britain still retained its mandate over this territory. It went, having failed to settle the strife of many years between the opposing sides. But the participants in the conflict cannot themselves settle it in principle.

[Kiselev] By speaking about Britain, are you implying Moscow?

[Starovoytova] Of course. The center is prepared to wash its hands, pull out its troops and say: it's up to you to decide. As a deputy to Russia's parliament and as a mother, I understand this position. But what are we going to do with federal commitments? What advantages does membership in the USSR offer in comparison with national independence? I feel that the center concluded that Armenia can be sacrificed. I'm referring to its secession from the Union. There are too many problems with it.

We have hushed up the bloodshed in Transcaucasia and Central Asia: this has become commonplace. The value of human life is different there. And this is a typically colonial mentality. Imperial awareness and imperial policy are continuing. Indeed, our soldiers must not die under bullets across the Caucasian Mountains. But an age-old empire must bear responsibility for whatever happens within its confines.

[Kiselev] Recently I talked to Levon Ter-Petrosyan, the newly-elected chairman of Armenia's Supreme Soviet, and he said that the army must be withdrawn from Karabakh. You seem to insist that the Army must stay.

By no means. We must re-establish Soviet power in the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast]. But General Safonov has established the same ruthless repressive regime there as the one created by General Makashov in Yereven under martial law. Legality has been grossly flouted in Karabakh. The demographic proportions of the population are being forcibly changed, people are being deported from some villages.

Troops must be withdrawn from Nagorno-Karabakh—but to the borders between Armenia and Azerbaijan. We must put up screens between the conflicting sides. And along Karabakh's peremiter. And also in various tense places where Armenians and Azerbaijanians live close to each other. Of course, having provided the army with everything necessary.

[Kiselev] Such measures could temper the conflict, but not extinguish it.

[Starovoytova] Power pressure will not ease the problems. Inasmuch as no political solutions exist, a sluggish, hushed-up civil war is underway. One democratic way continues to be realistic—renunciation of the people's four-stage division into grades, renunciation of different forms of national statehood. We need to open up the Russian nesting doll [matreshka], where some peoples have been within the state entities of others. Quite often, far removed from them in religion, traditions and culture. All these entities need direct links with the centre, without intermediaries.

Lebanon, Afghanistan, Karabakh—this is, also, for a long time. The memory of bloodshed does not vanish quickly. As far as Nagorno-Karabakh is concerned, I pin great hopes on the elections to Azerbaijan's new parliament due in late September. I believe that this will legally formalize the political pluralism existing in the republic. In it there are sound forces with whom negotiations are possible.

Georgian Supreme Soviet Discusses Election Law

90US1285A Moscow TRUD in Russian 18 Aug 90 p 2

[Article by TRUD correspondent O. Chikhladze in Tbilisi: "Georgia: Selection Before the Elections"]

[Text] The regular session of the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet must resolve an obviously confusing task that is on its agenda—adoption of a Law on Elections. The recent publication of three drafts of this law have evoked an ambiguous reaction. The intensity of discussions around them is inversely proportional to the unjustifiably limited time allotted for discussion.

Among the different opinions it can be heard more and more frequently that the severe pressure of opposition forces that is being expressed, in particular the blocking of the railroad for the purpose of hastening the adoption of the Law on Elections, will only lead to an artificial speedup of political processes. By far not all strata of society are politicized enough to comprehend in an extremely short period the innovations contained in the draft laws and to adopt a clear position. There is no paradox in this. Judging by the draft laws, the session will have to make a radical change in the entire electoral system. Charging ahead on this path could confront a majority of the citizens with an accomplished fact, because the time factor deprives them of an opportunity to ponder and evaluate the draft laws and to express their attitudes toward them, so as to assist the session in orienting itself properly. Moreover, mass rallies are not so massive that it can be said that a majority of the people are immersed in political life, and the multifaceted new parties are not so numerically strong as to encompass anywhere near a substantial part of the population.

Interesting in this respect is the observation of N. Natadze, chairman of the Georgian People' Front, according to whose words "even such a feeble slogan as the call for a boycott of the elections was popular." I will remind you that the elections of Georgian SSR deputies scheduled for March of this year were canceled under pressure from the most radically inclined part of the political forces who called for holding elections on a multiparty basis, although for the first time in the history of Soviet Georgia no one prevented anyone from nominating candidates for deputy.

Soon after this, the "implacable opposition" (National Independence Party, National Democratic Party, and a number of other political formations) scheduled the elections of a national congress for the end of September. The main motive for this turn of events: Any soviet and official elections are illegal, inasmuch as Georgia remains part of the mother country. Of course, not all opposition forces share this point of view. The arguments here are various, including one such as this: Elections on a multiparty basis have nothing in common with the Soviet electoral system. The leader of the People's Front, for example, believes that it is much more essential to have a parliament of a good makeup than to have a good law that endows parliament with suitable rights. The experience of recent years, when laws and ukases appeared one after the other that were remarkable for their good intentions but lifeless and not workable, probably negates any counter arguments. Suffice it to mention in this respect just the recent undischarged ukase of the USSR president on the voluntary disarming of illegally armed formations and the confiscation of arms in the event they are not surrendered.

But let us return to the drafts of the Law on Elections. What do they propose? The first and third of them were prepared by the presidium of the republic Supreme Soviet, and a number of new political formations participated in the development of the second. All three drafts recognize the right to elect and to be elected regardless of political convictions. But in addition the second draft restricts the right of nominating candidates as a whole of those parties whose actions apply to the entire territory of Georgia. Here there is also the following provision: "Parties that are a structural unit of political parties that function outside Georgia's borders cannot be established and operate on the territory of Georgia."

It is difficult to assess this in any other way than as an ultimatum to the Georgian Communist Party. However, the ultimatum is belated: Its leadership has long since and unequivocally come out for independence. And with regard to the limitation of the range of parties, this opinion, in particular, was stated in the local press: "By blocking the opportunity to participate in the elections of local political organizations, they are thereby pushed to seek opportunities to express and defend their own interests with the help of other structures—nonparliamentary and outside Georgia, and actually encourage extremism." It is difficult not to agree with this statement of the issue—because true democracy presupposes that a parliament must reflect the political aims of the population of the republic, and not just of one nation. This is fair in any case, but it is even more applicable to multinational Georgia.

There are other "reefs" in the second draft on which the fragile little ship of our still infirm democracy can founder. Thus, for example, to be elected to the Supreme Soviet it is necessary to have a 10-year "record" of continuous stay in Georgia and to have a good command of the state language. In the opinion of a number of prominent lawyers of the republic this provision contradicts the international agreement on civil and political rights and, besides, does not take into account the realities that have evolved in the republic.

The drafts also differ in the fact that they are based on different electoral systems. The first of them prefers elections on an alternative basis according to single-mandate districts, and the second and the third propose to elect one-half of the total number of deputies of parliament according to party lists on the basis of proportional representation, and the other half in the traditional way. In addition, each party or bloc of parties has the right to present only one list of candidates. It is compiled taking into account that the mandates received by the party as a result of voting are assigned from the start of the list in order of enumeration. In the course of discussions, the complexities of this electoral system were exposed. One of these is that the people, as a rule, know only the leaders of new parties, while each party list probably has not less than a hundred candidates....

Results of polls that were conducted by sociologists of the Georgian Academy of Sciences showed: 48 percent of those polled prefer to vote in the traditional way for specific candidates, 29 percent are for lists of parties and blocs, 15 percent found it difficult to make a choice, and the remaining eight percent did not answer the question at all. It turns out that almost every fourth person has not yet determined his position.

This probe into public opinion very likely cannot be called profound and comprehensive—for only 1,500 persons were polled in 15 regions of the republic, but nevertheless it rather clearly expresses public priorities. Briefly, many things today complicate the already difficult task that confronts the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the republic. Whether the people will get a truly democratic Law on Elections or whether it will be the next substitute with a tilt toward one of the sides depends on them. The work ahead is difficult, very difficult.

I recall: On 14 August it was emphasized at a meeting of the presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet that a constructive attitude toward the matter is needed today by all sides taking part in the discussions. Threats, ultimatums, intimidation, and labelling—this is not the way to help the public make a deliberate choice. Such actions can only delay the adoption of an important decision. Everyone will lose if only one wins, and if the new law is subordinated to someone's interests but not to the interests of all of Georgia. The method of artificial qualification on a party basis, which would actually mean debarring half the population of the republic from elections, seems disastrous as well.

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On the very first day of work of the session the deputies were handed still another—a fourth—draft law which, in the opinion of its authors, contained all that was most rational from the other drafts. Starting in the morning, supporters of the second draft assembled in a rally in front of the House of Government. And voices could be heard in the discussions started at the session about the intolerability of pressure on the deputies....

Those who raise knowingly unacceptable demands in today's difficult situation are taking on a tremendous responsibility, and they are playing a political game in which the stake is the fate of the people.

Tbilisi Dismantles Lenin's Statue From Square

LD2808131190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1228 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Tbilisi, 28 Aug (TASS)—A statue of Lenin has been dismantled on one of the city's central squares.

A decision by the Tbilisi City Soviet of People's Deputies notes that recently the statue and its pedestal have been damaged.

The public has asked city authorities to reconstruct the square and work has already begun.

Georgia's Zugdidi Town Militia Stages Strike

LD2808193690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] The personnel of the Zugdidi town and rayon internal affairs departments have now been on strike for five days. Three hundred and eighty militia staff were obliged to adopt this measure owing to the unprotected nature of their position and to the lawlessness. (Livan Dzohodzhua), the head of the Zugdidi militia, said that on 23d August, militia staff detained a number of drug addicts and thieves, whom they were obliged, some time later, to release because of threats from their accomplices, who threatened to attack the militia department. The strike will last until 5 September.

Among the demands put forward by the militia are removing internal affairs bodies from subordination to local authorities; drawing up a statute on the rights and social defense of militia staff; drafting a code of laws for the republic, taking account of national traditions and peculiarities; and punishing those who took part in attacks on a whole series of militia departments in rayons and towns in western Georgia.

Solidarity with the staff of the Zugdidi internal affairs administration has been expressed by the staff of other militia departments in the republic.

Central Asia

Kirghizia, Azerbaijan Sign Cooperation Agreement

LD2808144190 Frunze Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Excerpt] An agreement on economic, scientific and technical, and cultural cooperation has been signed in Frunze between the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and the Kirghiz SSR for the period 1991-95. [passage omitted]

Turkmen Supreme Soviet Debates Sovereignty

PM2908085990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Aug 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by Captain A. Veklich: "Keen Debates"]

[Text] Ashkhabad—A Turkmen Supreme Soviet session has adopted a declaration "On the State Sovereignty of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic." During its approval the parliamentarians also examined the question of safeguarding the republic's domestic and external security.

Sharp debates developed among the deputies about young Turkmen men's service in the armed forces. Various opinions were voiced on this question. In particular there were proposals for creating their own national formations, for young men of indigenous nationality not to serve in military construction detachments, and so forth.

After a thorough discussion the Supreme Soviet concluded that inasmuch as the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] sees its further future within a renewed federation of the USSR then the safeguarding of the republic's security should also be viewed on the scale of the country.

The Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet deputies elected deputies and servicemen Colonel P. Korotkiy and Lieutenant Colonel A. Muratberdyyev to the delegation to conclude the Union treaty.

Tajik Sovereignty Declaration Reported

PM2808111990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent L. Makhkamov: "Sovereignty As Party of the Union"]

[Text] Dushanbe—The republic Supreme Soviet second session is continuing its work. The fourth day was marked by an important event—the deputies adopted a Declaration on Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Sovereignty.

"The Tajik SSR is a sovereign, multinational state," the document says. It stresses the resolve to "create a democratic rule-of-law state." With the exception of questions voluntarily delegated by the republic to the USSR, the Tajik SSR will independently tackle all remaining questions connected with political, economic, and social and cultural development on its own territory. The republican Constitution and laws are to take precedence on the territory of the Tajik SSR.

The session has already examined and given a first reading to Tajik SSR laws on ownership and on the lease system. After thay have been polished up they will be published for nationwide discussion. The Supreme Soviet formed a commission to prepare a draft new Tajik SSR Constitution.

Tajik Parliament Ratifies Cooperation Draft

LD2808165390 Moscow TASS in English 1640 GMT 28 Aug 90

[By TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe August 28 TASS—Tajik parliament today adopted a draft agreement on mutual economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation between Soviet Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan.

The draft was compiled by the republics' prime ministers and published in the press for the public to get acquainted with it.

The majority of deputies believe that the agreement will promote the fulfilment of economic and social programmes in the Central Asian region and the transition to a market economy.

It is planned to create programmes for combined use of power, fuel, mineral and raw materials, to set up joint ventures in the extractive industry, machine-building and other branches of economy.

The programme aims to carry out joint work in the field of ecology and seismology, particularly to conduct joint ecological examinations before building enterprises in the republics' border areas. Physicians have begun to work out a united interregional programme "Health." According to the agreement, closer cooperation will develop between scientists and art and literature workers.

Tajik parliament's schedule is filled up. Over a week, they have adopted important laws on property, lease, Tajikistan's state sovereignty and constitutional compliance in the republic.

Deputies failed to agree on forms of land ownership in the republic. Radicals demanded that land be transferred to farmers' private property without preconditions, but they were not supported by the majority. A republican draft land code will be published in the press for popular discussion and be debated during the next session.

Uzbek Chairmen Discuss Military Service

LD2908091490 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 0100 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Excerpts] A meeting of the chairmen of the committees of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] has been held in the Supreme Soviet Presidium. The question of how young Uzbek men who have been called up for military service should form their groups was examined. The [word indistinct] of Turkestan Red Banner military district, representatives of the military procurator, and the military commissariat participated in the meeting. Ibrakhimov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR opened the meeting. [name indistinct], head of the commission for questions of defense of Uzbekistan and social protection of servicemen, spoke at the meeting. [passage omitted]

Uzbek SSR Karimov, president and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan spoke at the meeting. Mirsaidov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers participated in the work of the meeting.